

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

The Baltimore Fire and Baltimore Reform

**James B. Crooks**

Post-Revolutionary Letters of Alexander Hamilton

**Edited by David C. Skaggs and Richard K. MacMaster**

The Political Effort for a League of Nations

**Leon Boothe**



**Vol. 65 No. 1**

**Spring, 1970**

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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BALTIMORE

1970

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**MARYLAND**  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## IN MEMORIAM

### GENERAL WILLIAM BAXTER

The members of the governing Council of the Maryland Historical Society feel a deep sense of loss at the death on January 29, 1970, of General William Baxter, President of the Society, and extend profound sympathy to his family.

A native of Baltimore, General Baxter entered military service in 1919 as a Reserve Officer Training Corps cadet while at St. John's College, Annapolis. Following graduation from the Harvard Law School in 1926 he enlisted in the 5th Maryland Infantry, Maryland National Guard, and subsequently was commissioned a second lieutenant. After successive promotions he served for nine years as commander of Company I. In 1940 he became Regimental Plans and Training Officer with the grade of major and continued in that capacity through the early months of World War II.

He participated in the Tunisian, Italian, Sicilian and European campaigns under General George Patton and General Alexander Patch, and commanded the force which made the pre-H hour attack in the invasion of southern France. He received the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star and the Croix de Guerre. After the war he rejoined the 5th Maryland, renamed the 175th Infantry, and served as commanding officer from 1947 to 1952.

In civilian life General Baxter ended a distinguished career in the Legal Department of the Baltimore Gas and Electric Company in 1966 when he retired as General Counsel.

In February, 1967, he was elected President of the Maryland Historical Society and re-elected in 1968 and 1969. During his terms of office the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building was completed, occupied and dedicated; the Keyser Memorial Building was refurbished; the former Art Gallery was converted to a Rare Book Room; and planning began for the Darnall Young People's Museum of Maryland History. Though handicapped by illness in the latter part of his administration, his interest in the Society remained intense. The day before he died he discussed important financial matters with the Director by telephone.

General Baxter was a member of numerous professional organizations, both legal and military. He was ex-president of the Trial Table Law Club and of the University Club of Baltimore. He also served on the Board of Visitors and Governors of St. John's College.

The Council members resolve that this expression of appreciation for General Baxter's many contributions to the city, state and nation be sent to his family and that it be spread upon the minutes of the Council.

---

## IN MEMORIAM



Rosamond Randall Beirne (Mrs. Francis F. Beirne) March 8, 1894—  
October 24, 1969.

*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

RESOLVED: That the Maryland Historical Society records with deepest sorrow the death on October 24th, 1969, of Rosamond Randall Beirne (Mrs. Francis F. Beirne) who was for many years an active, valued and beloved member of this Society.

Mrs. Beirne was the daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Daniel R. Randall. Her father was of an old Annapolis family and her mother of an old New England family. She was born in Annapolis and lived there until her family moved to Baltimore; and following her marriage she made her home at Ruxton for many years. She had a deep interest and pride in the history of Maryland and of our country, and in the inspiration left to us by our forefathers as a great legacy, which history and the monuments of the past help us to know and to appreciate.

Mrs. Beirne and the late John Henry Scarff, a distinguished architect and also a devoted and highly esteemed member of this Society, collaborated in a work which makes available to us through their efforts, scholarship and talents, some architectural monuments of tidewater Maryland and Virginia—particularly of Annapolis in its golden age of architecture of the 18th century—and gives us some picture of the culture of the era which produced the Founding Fathers. Mrs. Beirne's spirit shines through the words of the dedication of their book on William Buckland "to Those Who in the 17th and 18th Centuries Planted in America the Seeds of English Culture" and in the words of the Preface:

"The urge to develop the biography of William Buckland was an inherited one. It was stimulated by the study of a few family papers and a close association of one of the authors for many years with Buckland's Annapolis houses. Every family has its traditions but most lack a member with time and energy to put these traditions in some sort of permanent form. A professional knowledge of the byways and ancient mores of London and Oxford, as well as of the finer points of eighteenth century architecture, was needed to round out the story of Buckland's career. Therefore, the two authors became associated in an effort to recreate the life of one of the few pre-Revolutionary craftsmen whose buildings still stand today, serene and authenticated. His is typical of the traditional American success story—the poor young man's progress and rise in the world. Though his opportunities lay more in the domestic field than in public works, they are unrivalled in his time and place."

Perhaps the finest of Buckland's houses was the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis. Mrs. Beirne was tremendously interested in the work of the Association which preserved and



maintains that house and was the President of it. She also collaborated in a book about it in 1941.

This Society was privileged to publish the William Buckland book. That is, however, but one of many reasons why Mrs. Beirne was held in the high esteem and affection of this Society. She served effectively, willingly and completely unselfishly as a member and as the Chairman of Committees of the Society and as a member of its governing body, the Council. Her interest in the Society was great and unflagging, her modesty and consideration for the views of others, even though she might disagree with them, her unfailing good temper and courtesy, and her wisdom are deeply appreciated and greatly missed by all of the members of the Council and Committees of this Society who had the privilege of working with her.

It was in keeping with her zeal for bringing to the present and preserving for the future the inspiration of our past that the end of her splendid life should have come when she was engaged in just such an undertaking at Mount Vernon, where she was attending a meeting of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of America, of which she was the Regent.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That this Society express to Mr. Francis F. Beirne, himself a distinguished historian, and to Mr. Richard H. Randall, who has also given generously of his time and talents to this Society for many years, and to the other members of her family our deepest sympathy and sense of loss.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the foregoing Resolutions be inscribed as a part of the permanent records of this Society and that copies thereof be transmitted to Mr. Beirne and Mr. Randall.

---

## IN MEMORIAM

### RICHARD HARDING RANDALL

The governing Council of the Maryland Historical Society records with profound sorrow the death on January 14, 1970, of Richard Harding Randall, one of its most faithful members and zealous supporters. Mr. Randall joined the Society in 1943 and found particular interest in its Maritime Collection. He was an active member of the Committee on the Maritime Collection since its inception in 1950, and in 1966 became its Chairman. In the last-named capacity he served as a valued member of the Council.

Mr. Randall was always eager to advance the cause of the Society generally, and of the Maritime Collection particularly, with sound advice, with material contributions, and, so long as his health permitted, with physical assistance. During the period when the collection was transferred from the Keyser Memorial Building to more spacious quarters in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building, his help was especially valuable. In addition, over a period of years, he compiled a Chesapeake Bay Maritime File of data pertaining to ship names, ship captains, shipbuilding, and shipyards along the Chesapeake, which has become a valuable and enduring reference tool.

Deep sympathy for the members of Mr. Randall's family is mingled with the Council's sense of loss.

Be it resolved, that this expression of appreciation and sympathy be spread upon the minutes of the Council and that a copy thereof be sent to Mr. Randall's family.

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## THE BALTIMORE FIRE AND BALTIMORE REFORM

By JAMES B. CROOKS

THE great Baltimore fire of February 7, 1904 generally receives credit among Baltimoreans for stimulating the reforms of the Progressive Era. John Powell writing his essay on the "History of Baltimore, 1870-1912" in the latter year may have started the impression when he observed:

The boldness with which Baltimore in the very moment of its devastation [following the fire], planned and put into execution a great scheme of public improvements, seemed to act as a charm to dissolve the spell of ultraconservatism, and to inspire the people with a confidence in themselves and in the future of the city which increased in strength with every step it took. A splendid audacity, resting upon a basis of intelligent comprehension, replaced the old-time hesitancy with which large projects had been received. To create rather than to be created became the dominant impulse of the community.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore, Its History and Its People* (New York, 1912) I, p. 357.

Powell substantiated his thesis by describing the rebuilding of the burnt district, the construction of a sewage system, the smooth paving of cobblestone streets, the enlarging of the park system, and numerous other major public improvements undertaken following the fire. Subsequently the impression took hold in the popular mind that the fire instigated the reforms.<sup>2</sup> It is the purpose of this article, based on a fresh examination of the evidence, to raise the question: to what extent did the fire spur reform?

The progressive movement at the turn of the century can be broken down into four categories. In Baltimore, as throughout the nation during the era of Bryan, La Follette, Roosevelt and Wilson, there were essentially four kinds of reforms: political reform, economic reform, social reform and city planning, or the planning of new buildings and public improvements relative to the growth of cities.

Political reform focused on electing honest, efficient and capable men to office; broadening and strengthening the franchise by support of direct primaries, woman's suffrage and the direct election of United States Senators; and ensuring that elections were honest. Political reform also sought to oust corrupt or dictatorial political machines and to keep them out in ensuing years.

In Baltimore, the old Gorman-Rasin Democratic machine was defeated in 1895, nine years before the fire. The Republican city governments which succeeded it, however, were very little improvement. Frustrated by the lack of progress through either major party, and yet realizing that a third party probably could not win, the reformers organized themselves as a pressure group holding the balance of power between the two major parties. Their purpose was to force the major parties to accept their programs as the price for election victories. In the mayoral election of 1899, the new policy worked as the reformers persuaded the Democratic organization to put forward a reputable candidate and Thomas G. Hayes was elected.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> To the point that when the author was preparing to talk to a group of Baltimoreans the day after this paper was presented to the Maryland Historical Society in November, 1968, one well educated, intelligent hostess remarked, "oh yes, the fire did result in a great many reforms here." Similarly, Hollins College students from Baltimore frequently link the fire with urban reform.

<sup>3</sup> James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895-1911* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1968), p. 98.

H. L. Mencken described Hayes as "a very shrewd lawyer, an unreconstructed Confederate veteran, a pious Methodist, and a somewhat bawdy bachelor."<sup>4</sup> As mayor, Hayes picked first-rate men to run the city government. One of several such appointments was that of Joseph Packard to be School Board President. Packard initiated the reform of the city's very backward school system.

When Hayes began to try to organize his own political machine looking toward re-election in 1903, reformers again cooperated with regular Democrats to elect the young, competent Robert McLane. McLane died tragically four months after the fire, but his successors carried on honest, efficient, and enlightened city government. By 1906, Charles Grasty, the editor of the *Baltimore News*, and one of the leaders of the reform movement, could refer to Baltimore as a city without graft, adding that "good and faithful service has become the



Robert M. McLane. 1815-1898.  
*Maryland Historical Society.*

<sup>4</sup> H. L. Mencken, *Newspaper Days 1899-1906* (New York, 1941), p. 41.

standard requirement that the community habitually and automatically exacts of its public officials."<sup>5</sup>

In sum, political reform began substantially before the fire in 1895. Not only had city government been made honest and efficient, but the city had a new charter drafted in 1898 and direct primary elections introduced in 1902 to choose party candidates. Additional reforms followed the fire, such as the direct election of United States Senators and legislation to abolish corrupt campaign practices. But the momentum had begun well before 1904 and the relationship between the fire and political reform in Baltimore was minimal.

The second area of urban reform in Baltimore during the progressive era was economic reform. Actually, economic reform was minimal because of the restricted powers of city government to tax itself or control operations of corporations within city limits. By 1901, Americans were beginning to realize that not even state governments had the power to regulate big business corporations, and the function of corporate regulation was shifting to Washington. Still, there were inequities in property assessments and taxation. There were lucrative franchises available to the local public utilities. And there was the need to regulate child labor, factories, dairies, slaughter houses and bakeries in the interest of public health.

In Baltimore, attempts to close loopholes in property taxation began with the Hayes administration in its appointment of two reformers to the Appeals Tax Court in 1899. The regulation of factories, slaughterhouses, dairies and bakeries also began in the 1890's and evolved over the next twenty years in both sophistication and effectiveness. Efforts to regulate the public utilities began in the first Republican reform administration in 1895, but progress was blocked until 1910 due to the influential opposition of the utility companies as well as the city's own lack of authority to act. State legislation was required and the rural-oriented, machine-dominated General Assembly refused to cooperate. To a lesser extent, the delay was also due to the fire as reformers turned their attention to rebuilding the burnt district, rather than combatting the utilities. In short, in the area of economic reform as in the area of

<sup>5</sup> *Baltimore News*, December 22, 1906.



political reform, the fire probably had little effect as a catalyst.<sup>6</sup>

Social reform was the third area of urban progressivism and included provision for child labor legislation, public health reforms, playgrounds, compulsory school attendance and juvenile courts. Again, reforms began before the fire and continued afterwards. In 1892, Dr. William H. Welch of the Johns Hopkins Medical School challenged Baltimoreans to provide pure water, food inspection, clean streets and a sanitary sewage system to correct urban environmental deficiencies. Welch's colleague, Dr. William Osler, helped to found the Maryland Public Health Association in 1897 to improve environmental conditions, especially for the urban poor.

Reforms helped all Baltimoreans, but it was the urban poor who were most susceptible to the diseases caused by garbage-strewn alleys, contaminated foods and crowded housing. Moreover, once incapacitated by sickness, the poor also lacked the resources to obtain adequate medical care. Mary Richmond of the Charity Organization Society estimated in 1898 that one-fourth of all urban poverty could be traced to sickness and disease. In addition, it was the poor child who lived in a tenement, worked in a factory, missed school, and was forced to play in the streets. While doctors like Welch and Osler, and social workers like Miss Richmond voiced concern for the urban poor, James Cardinal Gibbons spoke similarly in behalf of the enlightened churchmen of Baltimore in 1903 in attacking the iniquities of the sweatshop and later the unjust discrimination of Negro disfranchisement.<sup>7</sup>

Not only were there spokesmen for social reform before 1904, but there was action too. Before 1904, either the city council or General Assembly passed laws to regulate child labor and sweatshops, required compulsory school attendance, established juvenile courts, and financed public baths. Enforcement of the child labor and sweatshop reforms came after the fire as did city subsidies for playgrounds and recreational programs and efforts to reform the housing code.

Of particular significance was a major campaign to combat tuberculosis, which reached a climax with a week-long exhibit attended by an estimated 50,000 people at the Johns Hopkins

<sup>6</sup> Crooks, *Politics and Progress*, 108 ff.

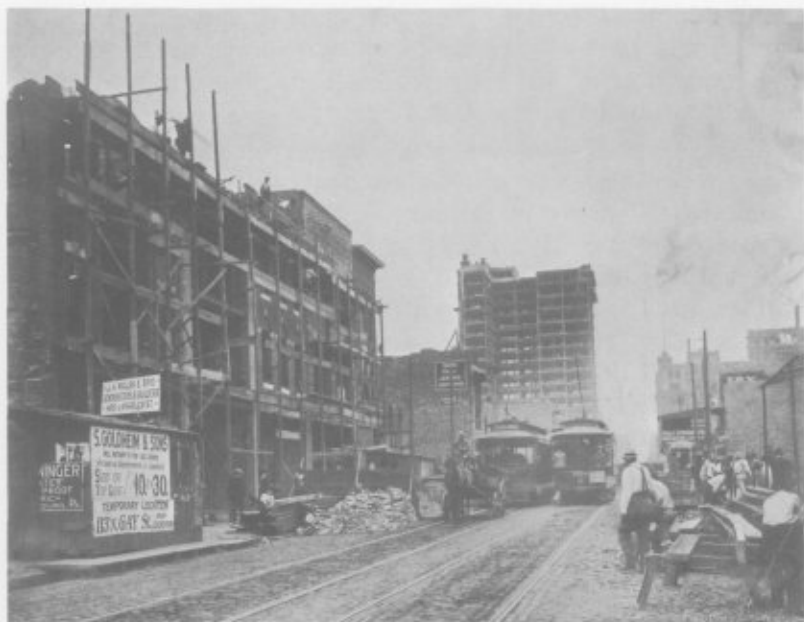
<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 155 ff.

University in January, 1904. The exhibit dramatized the history and nature of the dread disease, presented statistics on its prevalence and rate of mortality, displayed models of proposed dispensaries and sanatoria, and sponsored daily lectures on the subjects. Among the displays were a series of photographs of Baltimore tenements and sweatshops showing overcrowding, inadequate ventilation and poor sanitation which were all conducive to the spread of tuberculosis. Speakers urged employers to limit working hours for children and provide sanitary workshops; philanthropists to build model tenements and sanatoria; and cities to build sanatoria and public housing similar to those in Glasgow, Scotland.

The effect of the educational campaign was limited. The Baltimore Fire followed within a week of the exhibit's closing, diverting attention from the issue. Instead, attention focused upon rebuilding the burnt district and therefore disrupted reform efforts in behalf of the crusade against tuberculosis. In effect, the relationship of the Baltimore fire to social reform was similar to its relationship with economic and political reform. The results were minimal in stimulating progress. If anything, the fire retarded reform diverting attention from the social, economic and political problems already at hand.

Still, the fire is associated with a vast program of public improvements in Baltimore, and correctly so. These public improvements are perhaps the progressive era's counterpart to today's urban renewal and urban planning programs, and it is to this aspect of urban progressivism and its relationship to the fire that must be examined.

The whole tradition of city planning, so rich in the histories of Ancient Rome and Louis XIV's reign, was revived in France under Louis Napoleon in the mid-nineteenth century when Baron von Haussmann rebuilt Paris. In the United States, planning revived with the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and the erection of the Great White City on the shores of Lake Michigan. From Chicago, the impetus spread to Cleveland's monumental civic center, to Washington where L'Enfant's original plans for the Mall were finally completed, and to Baltimore, where in 1899—the same year that Mayor Hayes and the reform Democrats came to power—Theodore Marburg organized the Municipal Art Society.



View of Baltimore Street looking west from Frederick Street.

Photograph by Eduard Löllmann.

*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

The Municipal Art Society's first efforts were in the area of urban beautification: commissioning a mural for the new courthouse, two statues for Mount Vernon Place, and interior decoration in dreary school classrooms. Of greater long-term importance, however, was the formation of two committees: one to implement the recent reports of the Baltimore Sewerage Commission, and the other to propose plans for the development of the recently annexed area north of North Avenue.<sup>8</sup> The sewage committee worked to remedy Baltimore's somewhat dubious reputation as the nation's largest unsewered city, persevering through the partisan finagling of both Democrats and Republicans in city council and General Assembly. The annex committee hired Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., of the famous Olmsted Brothers landscape architectural firm, to plan

<sup>8</sup> Minutes of the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore City, April 27, 1900 and January 9, 1901 (in possession of Douglas H. Gordon of Baltimore).

the development of the recent additions to the city. Unfortunately there was as yet no topographical survey of the annexed area, and Olmsted was forced to limit his planning to developing a coordinated park system.

The park plan, however, was a masterpiece that served as a basis for park development for two generations.<sup>9</sup> In it Olmsted compared Baltimore to Boston, New York, London and Paris to determine the city's needs in total park development. He analyzed the function of parks relative to population density and terrain. Basically he urged the development of three kinds of parks. First, the city needed neighborhood parks and squares to be opened in the densely populated areas to provide recreational facilities for children, youths and adults. Baltimore was particularly lacking in these. Second, the city required large wooded parks on its outskirts, like Baltimore's Druid Hill Park, to provide a complete contrast to the city's sights and sounds. Third, the city needed attractively landscaped parkways or roads radiating out from the heart of the city. Some would be primarily for the carriage trade, but others were planned for commercial traffic in order to combine the advantages of beauty and utility.

In his report delivered to the Municipal Art Society in November, 1903, Olmsted proposed a comprehensive plan of park development. He recommended the acquisition of thirty-six small parks and squares, averaging between four and five acres in size in the densely populated areas of Baltimore. He proposed adding to the five existing suburban parks—Wyman, Druid Hill, Clifton, Montebello and Patterson—plus the creation of a new waterfront park at the mouth of the Middle Branch in southwest Baltimore. He also suggested the acquisition of what he called "outlying reservations" in anticipation of future metropolitan growth. These lands would be along Back River by the bay, Loch Raven, the Patapsco River gorge, Curtis Creek and in the Green Spring Valley. His parkways followed two approaches. First, he took advantage of the city's hilly terrain with its many streams running through to propose parks and scenic drives along Gwynns Falls, Jones Falls, Stoney Run and Herring Run. Second, he sought to widen and make

<sup>9</sup>Olmsted Brothers, *Report of the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1904), pp. 11-50 *passim*.

attractive commercial highways that fanned out in all directions from downtown Baltimore.

While Olmsted studied the intricacies of park development, Baltimoreans began to realize that partisan politics was delaying construction of a sewage system and other city improvements. In the mayoral election of May, 1903, both candidates promised to support a nonpartisan sewage commission. In November, Governor-elect Edwin Warfield offered to sign any sewage bill upon which the city leaders agreed.<sup>10</sup>

Following the city elections Grasty began a newspaper campaign in behalf of public improvements in the Baltimore *News*. Reporters interviewed Baltimore architect J. B. Noel Wyatt upon his return from Europe. Wyatt, a director of the Municipal Art Society, criticized Baltimore for "idly resting on its old-time reputation as an attractive place on account of such agreeable, but superficial and transient elements as hospitality, sociability, low rents and cheap food markets." European cities, in contrast, gave an impression of having good order and being well kept. Streets were well paved; parks and public gardens were used and enjoyed by all classes of society; and there was an appreciation of and willingness to pay for public art and architecture. Even in the United States, Wyatt saw "towns all over the country . . . spending millions in complete sewer systems, street paving and various other improvements on a vast scale," while Baltimore stagnated. Cardinal Gibbons agreed that Europeans in contrast to Baltimoreans took pride in their cities: "They interest themselves very earnestly in civic improvements and in every measure that tends to beautify the city and render the country attractive."<sup>11</sup>

City officials responded energetically to the calls for public improvements. Mayor McLane endorsed sewer construction and asked city department heads to determine the cost of providing adequate schools, paved roads and fire engine houses. City Solicitor Williams Cabell Bruce began drafting enabling acts to provide bond issues to finance the public improvements.

Initially provision for park development was omitted from the mayor's plans. In December, 1903 Municipal Art Society representatives called upon McLane in behalf of the Olmsted

<sup>10</sup> *News*, April 30, August 21, and November 14, 1903.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, November 13, 14, 17, 1903.



Dr. William Henry Welch. 1850-1934.  
*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

plan, and after some initial hesitation the Board of Estimates on February 2nd agreed to approve a park loan along with the other proposed public improvements. Four days later and one day before the Fire, Baltimore's delegation to the General Assembly announced its readiness to support the bills to provide sewers, street paving, schools, parks, and engine houses for the city. Baltimore's major program for public improvements was ready to begin, and just in the nick of time. Further delay might have buried the program in the ashes of the Baltimore fire.<sup>12</sup>

Baltimore progressives had gotten a program of planned public improvements off the drawing board and partly approved *before* the Fire had begun. Still to be decided would be the vote in the General Assembly, and more important, the vote of Baltimoreans in the referendum that would follow. One wonders if the fire had come first whether there would have been

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, January 19, February 2, 6, 1904.

the time to make the plans and gain the support of local officials for the program that Mayor McLane submitted to the General Assembly.

The great Baltimore Fire of February 7, 1904 began on a quiet winter Sunday. A spark from a discarded cigar or match burst into flame in the basement of a downtown dry goods store, igniting the blankets and cotton goods stored there. The fire spread rapidly and within minutes was blazing out of control. The flames leaped from building to building and overcame efforts of more than 1200 firemen to extinguish them. The fire raged for thirty hours. It threatened residential East Baltimore, but the wind shifted and drove it into the harbor. Seventy blocks, 1,526 buildings and more than 2,500 business enterprises were burnt out. Twenty banks, eight hotels, nine newspaper plants, and nine transportation offices, including the home office of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, were gutted. Fortunately, no one was killed, and few homes were destroyed.<sup>13</sup>

No one knew how Baltimoreans would react to the destruction of the commercial heart of their city. The last disaster to cripple Baltimore had been the Civil War. Before 1861 the city had been the financial and commercial capital of the South. In 1850, it was the second largest city in the country. The war, however, completely severed the economic bonds between the city and the South. It led to a military occupation and to imposed political conformity. Perhaps worst of all, it tore families asunder as brothers and cousins joined the Confederacy to fight against brothers and cousins loyal to the Union. The disaster of the war sapped the vitality of an entire generation. Economically, Baltimoreans became more conservative; politically, they became apathetic; and psychologically, they became less daring and less willing to take a chance.

In 1904, however, a new generation was taking control. Grasty had stimulated journalistic reform; Charles Bonaparte had led the political reformers; and men like Alexander Brown had spurred a dynamic policy of financial consolidation in the railroads and utilities. Yet leaders like Grasty worried about how Baltimoreans would respond to this latest disaster. Many

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed description of the fire see Harold A. Williams, *Baltimore Afire* (Baltimore, 1954).

of the Civil War generation still dominated segments of Baltimore life. Their apathy or the cautious response of the generation could result in a slow rebuilding with few improvements. A dynamic response could stimulate the entire city to become truly progressive. The nature of the response would depend largely upon the city's leadership and upon the willingness of its citizens to follow.

Grasty identified the challenge in a *News* editorial issuing a call to greatness for all Baltimoreans:

To suppose that the spirit of our people will not rise to the occasion is to suppose that our people are not genuine Americans. Chicago dates her greatness from the great fire of 1871; Boston's fire in 1872 . . . stimulated Boston's improvement and development; even little Galveston, overwhelmed by a flood which seemed calculated to wipe out all hope and courage in that town, rose up after the calamity more vigorous and more aggressive than ever. Baltimore will do likewise. We shall make the fire of 1904 a landmark not of decline but of progress.<sup>14</sup>

On the Friday following the fire, Mayor McLane appointed a sixty-three member Citizens Emergency Committee to advise him on rebuilding the burnt district. Comparable committees had been formed in Chicago and Boston following their fires. All of the men were professional and business leaders in Baltimore. Their response would determine in large measure Baltimore's reaction to the fire. By choosing the dynamic William Keyser as chairman of the committee, McLane contributed substantially toward ensuring that the response would be progressive.

Keyser immediately divided the group into subcommittees to solve the problems of devastation, reconstruction, legislation and finance. Over the weekend they met to begin their plans. By Monday, the subcommittee on legislation was ready with drafts of a bill to create a Burnt District Commission to supervise the reconstruction of the area. The subcommittee on street improvements met at Theodore Marburg's home, and with the advice of Olmsted, planned the widening of eleven major traffic arteries in the district. Olmsted also recommended the purchase and rebuilding by the city of all the wharves

<sup>14</sup> *News*, February 8, 1904.



along Pratt Street. He believed that if municipally owned, the docks could be reconstructed for beauty as well as utility and would have space set aside for purposes of recreation. Other proposals included laying sewer connections in anticipation of a city-wide system, smoothpaving the streets, a park in Marsh Market, and a limitation on the height of new buildings in the area to 150 feet. The improvements would cost \$9 million, \$5 million of which would be financed by a bond issue and the remainder from the proceeds of the city's recent sale of the Western Maryland Railroad. A few committee members opposed spending such large sums, but Keyser, who lost nine warehouses in the fire, urged that all necessary improvements be made without regard to costs and the committee approved the plans.<sup>15</sup>

The momentum of the initial response by the press, mayor and Citizens Emergency Committee carried to the General Assembly which quickly passed legislation enabling the city to carry out its plans. These included a six million dollar modernization of the harbor. Mayor McLane appointed a Burnt District Commission to execute the plans, and the voters of Baltimore endorsed the harbor loan in the elections of May.<sup>16</sup>

Opposition to the plan came from the Republican-dominated Second Branch of the city council, which blocked the proposed widening of the city's major thoroughfare, Baltimore Street. Baltimore Street property owners and their agents objected to the widening as unnecessary. They claimed the proposal would mean smaller property lots and buildings, lower valuations and higher taxes. Grasty, Keyser and Theodore Marburg disagreed. Keyser and Grasty also owned property fronting on Baltimore Street and offered to donate strips of it to facilitate the street widening. Marburg argued that the widening of Baltimore Street was "one of the most important features of the improvement plan. If Baltimore is rebuilt with that thoroughfare at the present width, the most conspicuous instance of congested traffic will remain." The Republican councilmen backed by the property holders remained adamant

<sup>15</sup> *Citizens Emergency Committee Minute Book*, MS. 237, Md. Hist. Soc.; and *News*, February 17, 22, 23, 1904.

<sup>16</sup> *News*, March 11 and May 18, 1904.

and excluded Baltimore Street in their approval of the plan to rebuild downtown Baltimore. The result was as Marburg predicted.<sup>17</sup>

The opposition to widening Baltimore Street slowed the momentum of civic renewal. In its wake, the Board of Estimates eliminated the Marsh Market park as well as Olmsted's proposed recreation pier. Harbor renewal continued, however, streets were widened, smooth-paved and graded in the burnt district, and a height limitation was placed upon new construction. Private interests rebuilt rapidly in the burnt district, and within two years few scars remained from the fire. Unfortunately no plan coordinated the private reconstruction in terms of form or function. City planning had not yet reached that stage of control. The result was a renewed business district in Baltimore, but also a lost opportunity to rebuild in the city's center with coordination, imagination and style. The results also showed that those who supported reform before the Fire responded with imagination, but many Baltimoreans remained unchanged in the way of the Baltimore Street property owners. In effect, the fire's immediate influence or stimulus to urban reform does not seem to have been very far-reaching.

But what about the long-term influence, particularly with regard to support for the planned public improvements endorsed by the mayor and legislative delegation before the Fire?

While Baltimoreans responded in varying ways to the fire, the city's other plans for public improvements awaited action. City solicitor William Cabell Bruce ensured their authorization by the General Assembly following the fire, but they also needed the support of the public in an election referendum. Delays resulted, first from the attention devoted to rebuilding the burnt district and then from the tragic death of Mayor McLane in June, 1904.<sup>18</sup>

His successor, Clay Timanus, president of the city council's Second Branch, was neither a planner nor a reformer, but fortunately he picked his advisors wisely. Closest to him were Solicitor Bruce and the new president of the Second Branch, George R. Gaither.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, March 23, 24, and April 1, 8, 18, 19, 21, 22, 1904.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4 and May 31, 1904.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31 and June 8, 1904.

Edwin Warfield. 1848-1920.  
*Maryland Historical Society*



It is not clear whether Timanus, Gaither or Bruce originated the idea for the General Public Improvements Conference that the mayor called in December, 1904, but the idea caught the imagination of Baltimoreans. Delegates came from all sections and all classes of the city. From Old Town, East Baltimore and South Baltimore came local businessmen representing their sections of the city. The coal exchange, lumber exchange, tobacco board of trade, clothiers' board of trade, and like groups sent their representatives as did the neighborhood improvement associations from Walbrook, Peabody Heights, Waverly, Homestead and other areas of the city. City-wide business groups like the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, and Merchants and Manufacturers' Association sent delegates along with the Federation of Labor, German-American Independent Citizens Union, Charity Organization Society and Municipal Art Society. Two hundred men, some planners, others seeking special improvements such as good roads for commerce, and still others seeking neighborhood schools, joined together in a united effort to improve Baltimore. Even partisan politics was put aside as Democrats and Republicans endorsed the conference.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, November 21, 23, 25, and December 3, 1904.

At the conference Gaither organized subcommittees responsible for each category of public improvements such as streets, schools and water. To coordinate the programs, the subcommittee chairman and secretaries were formed into an executive committee to set policy. Once organized, the committees met to assign priorities to public improvements. Three projects were endorsed for election referenda in May, 1905: a ten million dollar sewage loan, a one million dollar park loan, and a two million dollar Annex loan to conduct a topographical survey, open and pave new streets, bridge streams, and extend city services of garbage collection and street cleaning. Shortly after the new year began, committee members began their campaign to stir up public opinion to support the loans. All the committee members carried the program to their local trade, business and neighborhood associations while political leaders put pressure on ward politicians to secure their support. One of the most energetic of the evangelists for planned public improvements was Francis King Carey, a corporation lawyer. He argued that a half-hearted program would not suffice and that \$30 million should be spent if necessary. To the Shoe and Leather Board of Trade on the first anniversary of the Fire, Carey stressed the need for cooperation to promote a healthy, progressive city and urged the nurture of civic pride. "A city," he said, "will be great or small in direct ratio to the greatness or smallness of the character of its people." In April, Republicans and Democrats co-sponsored public improvement rallies. The result was the passage of the three loans by substantial majorities in all of Baltimore's wards.<sup>21</sup>

The success of the General Public Improvement Conference in behalf of the sewage, park and Annex loans persuaded Mayor Timanus and his advisors to keep the committees active in succeeding public improvement campaigns. During the following six years, its members (and successor groups under Mayor J. Barry Mahool) supported and secured ratification of loans to build new schools and engine houses, pave streets and enlarge the water supply. Developments did not always proceed smoothly, but between May, 1905 and May, 1911, Baltimoreans endorsed 11 of 12 bond referenda.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, December 6, 8, 14, 1904; January 14, February 6, 7, 8, March 29, and April 4, 15, 29, 1905.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, December 27, 1905, and January 4, 10, 11, 1906.

Doubtless the Baltimore Fire, and particularly the aftermath when Baltimoreans found themselves with the task of rebuilding the burnt district, contributed to the success of the program for planned public improvements. The shock of the fire followed by the strong leadership of Mayor McLane, Keyser and others, supported by the press, had extraordinary educational value for the citizenry. When the General Public Improvements Conference was called later in the year, it built on the momentum of the post-fire efforts.

Still, there were other factors involved. The fire gave civic leaders a chance to lead, but in all areas of urban reform, they were active before the fire. The fire contributed to preparing the man in the street for further programs of public improvements, but so had the recent suburban expansion into Walbrook, Peabody Heights and across the Annex. Suburbanites and citydwellers already wanted improvements and were ready to cooperate on a city-wide plan.

Similarly, the average voter had shown considerable political sophistication to vote Republican in 1895 and 1897, shift to the Democrats in 1899, split his ticket in 1903, and vote Democratic again in 1907—in part in the interest of urban reform. For this voter, the fire was but one of a variety of influences over a fifteen-year period that persuaded him to support progressivism in Baltimore.

Finally, one might conclude that where the fire was a factor contributing to awakening Baltimoreans to the need for planned public improvements, it was also a factor in diverting attention from, and thereby slowing, economic and social reform. Or, to put it another way, compared to the leadership provided by Baltimoreans like Bonaparte, Marburg, Garret, Keyser, Osler and Welch; compared to the educational influence of the progressive *Baltimore News* and later the *Sun*; and compared to the energies expended and reforms accomplished by organizations like the Baltimore Reform League, Charity Organization Society, Municipal Art Society and other groups, the fire played a comparatively minor role in the rise of urban progressivism in Baltimore.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS  
OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON,  
PISCATAWAY FACTOR, PART 2,  
JULY-OCTOBER 1784

Edited by DAVID C. SKAGGS and RICHARD K. MACMASTER

(continued from March 1968)

THE LETTERS\*

17

TO FRANCIS HAMILTON

Piscataway 4th July 1784

Dear Brother

I received yours of the 22d ultimo last night but neither of your other two is yet come to hand, nor has the bundle or buckwheat except 1  $\frac{3}{4}$  bushels which I was informed was at Alexandria and which I sent for. It came by Jacob Waltman.<sup>87</sup> You do not mention in your last by what conveyance the bundle & buckwheat was sent. Harry goes over this day to inquire about them and to bring them over.

\* For an introduction to this series see Part 1, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXIII (March, 1968), pp. 22-54, which includes Letters #1-16, and notes 1-86. References to Part 1 will be by page, letter, or footnote number and *supra*. References to letters to be published in subsequent parts of this series will be identified by letter number and *infra*. The Alice Ferguson Foundation of Accokeek, Md. graciously provided the editors financial support which assisted in the research for this series of letters.

<sup>87</sup> Jacob Waltman was the eldest son of Emmanuel (d. 1784) and Margaret Waltman of Loudoun County, Virginia, who were of German birth or descent (Loudoun County Wills, Liber C, f. 70, Court House, Leesburg).

I have not received any letter from Mr. Jameson.<sup>88</sup> When you see him put him in mind of writing me and mentioning in his letter that he will pay the debt & Interest from the time mentioned in the state precisely that I may have a voucher for it. If he does not I will bring a suit immediately. It is well enough, Days bond [is] in my name.

I am sorry Mr. Moore<sup>89</sup> has not paid you, particularly as it is not in my power at present to furnish you with the Sum you want. People pay me nothing but promises notwithstanding there is a very great price given for Tobacco. The fishing season was over before I got down and I have not seen Mr. Hawkins<sup>90</sup> since he left your house so that I cannot tell you whether he has got any fish for you, but from the scarcity I am affraid he has not. I think you ought not to depend on any from him; however I shall inquire of him and let you know.

By all means Summon Jones, in the meantime take his accot. of the matter in writing and get him to sign it. Such an acknowledged. from Oller<sup>91</sup> to him will be a good proof and if any other person was by let him say who they were in his acknowledgement & inquire of them if any heard the same. Jacky [John A. Hamilton] is well. I am

Dear Brother

Yours Sincerely  
Alexr. Hamilton

Mr. Francis Hamilton, Berkeley [Co., Va.]  
& Care of Mr. McKnight in Alexa.  
by Harry

<sup>88</sup> Henry Jameson owed James Brown & Co. £0.11.8, currency, in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 189, LC). This probably is the same individual.

<sup>89</sup> Mathew Moore, Jr. owed Brown & Co. a note of £18.14.1½, dated August 1773, and a judgment of £6.3.5, in January 1776 (*ibid.*). As for the Mr. Day mentioned in the previous sentence, a Matthew Day and a William Day owed bonds to Brown & Co. at the same time (*ibid.*, f. 192). Further identification is impossible.

<sup>90</sup> Hawkins is otherwise unidentified.

<sup>91</sup> Jones is otherwise unidentified and the identification of Oller is unknown except that Andrew, George, Laurence, Peter, and Philip Oler were listed as heads of households in Frederick Co., Md. in 1790 (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, pp. 63, 65).

TO ROBERT FERGUSON

Piscataway 17th July 1784

Dear Sir

I received yours inclosing a Crop Note on this Warehouse which I exchange with Mr. Baynes.<sup>92</sup> You will Charge him with yours and give him Credit for the inclosed note on Portobacco. The differance may be paid him in a future exchange unless you give him the price he gives for Tobacco.

Inclosed is a copy of Mr. [Walter] Pyes Accot. which you can get Satisfied for easily upon giving him some longer credit, and Henry Speakes<sup>93</sup> Note & Accot. which I suppose he will also pay with the Interest, which I told him he must pay.

The dread bodys [*sic*] has taken it into their heads, especially your County Gentry, to refuse to pay the Interest. It is said some of your Wiseacres of Majestrates has determined that point. How they may reconcile this conduct with their oaths to do justice according to the Laws of the Land, is, you may say, another affair. Be it so, but it is rather a troublesome precedant. I cannot get anything, scarcely a renewal.

I wish you could come up. I have got a good many accts. to prove & Certify which ought to be done, but I believe I must be at Portobacco for it. I am

your very hble Servt.  
Al. Hamilton

Mr. Robt. Fergusson

Mercht. Portobacco By post

Crop Note on Portobacco [mss. torn] 2.123.1199 in the  
Name of Thomas Luckete<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Col. John Baynes of Piscataway, merchant (see "Letterbooks," III, p. 144n).

<sup>93</sup> Henry Speake (d. 1795) of Charles Co. was a substantial landholder and slaveowner who willed his property to his wife, Elenor, and his children, Josias Speake, Henrietta Speake, Samuel Speake, Walter Speake, and Edward Sanders Speake (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 54; Wills, Charles County, Liber HK #1, ff. 244-246, HR).

<sup>94</sup> Probably Thomas Luckett (ca. 1720-1797) of Charles Co. owner of 127 acres in 1783 (Harry Wright Newman, *The Lucketts of Portobacco* (Washington, 1940), pp. 19-21).



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TO WALTER PYE

Piscataway 17th July 1784

Sir

The inclosed accot. agt. Walter Queen<sup>95</sup> I have applied to him for the payment of, which he refused to pay. saying that he was under age and that you was his Guardian and should have paid it. He acknowledges to have received the articles and desired me to apply to you for the payment. If it is so, you will please signify by the return of the post your assumpt[ion] to pay it, or that you will not pay it, that I may know what to do. I must again intreat you will make me a payment of at least part of your own debt.

I am Sir

Your most humble Sert.  
Alr. Hamilton

Mr. Walter Pye, by Post

Accot.	9 . . 11
Interest from 1st Sepr. 1776 to this date	4 . 5 . 6
	<hr/> 13 . 6 . 5

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TO SAMUEL BERRY JR.

Piscataway 17th July 1784

Sir

I have for this sometime past expected to have seen you and receive from you payment of your debt for dealings with me, or at least a part of it, you will please call on me & have it Settled if you cannot pay it at this time.

<sup>95</sup> In 1776 Walter Queen owed James Brown & Co. the £90.11 debt listed at the end of this letter. By 1790 his Prince George's Co. household contained three free white females, four white males under 16, and twelve slaves (*Heads of Families* . . . 1790: *Md.*, p. 96; Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 186).

There is also a debt due by you for dealings with Mr. Fergusson & Mr. Campbell on acct. of [MSS. torn] [John Glassf]ord & Co., a copy of which you have inclosed. This must [torn] or settled. I am authorized by Mr. Fergusson to receive [torn] [paym]ent. I am

Your humble Sert.  
Alexr. Hamilton

Mr. Samuel Berry Ju[nior]  
By Captn. Cawood<sup>96</sup>

	Tobo.	Goods	[Curry]
J. G. & Copys. debt p[er] acct. inclosed	50 lb.	17/2	& 4. .9. .8
17/2 at 125 p[er] c[ent] [=] [curry]			1.18. .7
balance due	50		6.8. .3
<hr/> Int. from 1st Septr. 1776 'till paid			
Jas. Brown & Coys. debt		52.13.	.2 1/2
Int. from 1st Septr. 1776 'till paid			
Never sent but demanded payt. <sup>97</sup>			

21

TO JAMES BROWN AND COMPANY

Piscattaway 20th July 1784

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last of the 20th May Since which nothing material has happened with respect to the settling and collect-  
ing [of] your debts, only that I can get very few of the one or

<sup>96</sup> Bowie, *Across the Years*, pp. 57-68, lists members of a Berry family of the Upper Marlboro-Piscataway area, but no Samuel Berry, Jr. is mentioned. A Samuel Berry headed a family in Charles County containing four males under 16, three females, and two slaves in 1790 (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 46). "Captn. Cawood" is otherwise unidentified, but a Benjamin Cawood, Jr. was a member of the Charles County Committee of Observation in 1774 (Klaphor, *Charles County*, p. 52) and Hamilton did acquire some of this man's property in 1793 as the result of a *feri facias* sale (Land Records, Charles Co., Liber N #4, HR).

<sup>97</sup> The whole epistle is crossed out in the manuscript letterbook.



Portion of cartouche from *A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia, Containing the Whole Province of Maryland . . .* Drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1775.

*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

the other, as they generally refuse to pay Interest, and in my opinion it will be imprudent to give up anything which you are entitled to by the Law, which allows Interest on all open accounts from Septemr. 1st, 1776.

An attempt has been once made to repeal that Law but they failed, and as the assembly did not sett this spring nothing further could be done, but when they meet in the fall it is expected there will be a push made to repeal it absolutely. And should that be the case we shall be in a very bad Situation. The 4th article of the treaty of peace had it been clearly worded, might have been used as an argument to get Interest on open accots, but will avail litle, especially as it is done on the part of Britain with such ignorance, carelessness, and indifference that your negociators seem to have attended very litle to the Interest of the British traders. I can only use it as a Secondary to the act of assembly in my endeavours to prevail

on the debtors to allow the Interest, and should that Law be repealed, it will be of no use in respect to Interest without an explanatory additional article by the American & British ministers. I am affraid on the repeal, the next push will be that no Interest shall be paid on bonds. The Magistrates and Jurors in Charles County refuse to allow Interest notwithstanding the oath they have taken to execute the Laws, which makes the business with debtors living in that County extremely troublesome and they can pay nothing they say 'till next year. I can see nothing but plague and trouble for many years to come in this business, for it will necessar[i]ly be a work of sometime if no impediment was thrown in the way, but much more so by this Conduct.

I believe there is yet no commercial treaty betwixt Britain & America, if there is you will know it before it reaches this Country. I think it will be much for the Interest of Britain that a commercial treaty takes place, if it is on terms that will give her an equality with other Countrys; and she will herself get a preference in that equality, as well by her advantage over other Countrys in her knowledge of the American business, as by her goods & language and Customs being the same.

From what I have seen and from all I can hear, the present prospect for a Crop of Tobacco & Corn is very great, and without some future accident or unfavourable weather, will be as great an one as I ever knew, of this you will be advised in the future.

Tobacco on patuxent has sold from 40/ to 50/ all cash and on Potowmack at 35/, 37/6, 40/, 42/6 & as high as 45/ and a great deal of Cash has been given at these prices. Notwithstanding I cannot get any Cash for debts. I cannot say whether the prices in Europe will justify these, but they certainly ought to be very high otherwise the purchasers will be great sufferers. I should have been very glad to have been advised of the prices in Europe tho' I may have very litle to do in the Tobacco way.

I am affraied my Collection will be so very trifling that I shall not be able to make you any remittances this year, tho' I have been promised by several such payments as would have enabled me to make one but I am affraied they will dissappoint me.

I shall be obliged to employ somebody to ride after the Bladensburgh debts, they lye at such a distance and [are] so

scattered that I am not able to ride after them all, being chiefly in the upper parts of Prince Georges, Montgomerie & Frederick Countys.

I shall do all I can for your Interest in the settling and collecting and have only to add that I am

Your very hble. Servt.  
Alex. Hamilton

Messrs James Brown & Coy.  
Merchts. in Glasgow by the Jeany  
Capn. William McGill

## 22

TO RICHARD STONESTREET

Piscattaway 1st Augt. 1784

Sir

Inclosed is a copy of your accompts w[i]th John Glassford & Co. and James Brown & Co. I shall be obliged to you for the payment being in very much want of the Money. I am

Your humble sert.  
A. Hamilton

Mr. Richard. Stonestreet, by  
Mrs. Stonestreet<sup>98</sup>

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TO DR. WILLIAM BAKER

Piscattaway 9th Augt. 1784

Sir

Above is a state of the debt due by the Estate of Mr. Thomas Addison<sup>99</sup> to James Brown & Co. at their store here, there is

<sup>98</sup> Richard Stonestreet, his wife, one free white male under 16 (their son?), and sixteen slaves lived in Prince George's Co. in 1790 (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md., p. 97*).

<sup>99</sup> Probably Thomas Addison (d. 1774) of "Oxon Hill" son of John and Susanna (Wilkinson) Addison (Bowie, *Across the Years*, pp. 33, 37-38).

also a small balance due by the Trustees for dealings at Bladensburg. Dyers<sup>100</sup> order I made several applications to Mr. Addison [for] but never could get it ascertained. You will please inform me when I may receive the payment. I am

Your most hble servant  
Alexr. Hamilton

To Doctr. William Baker<sup>101</sup>

Piscattaway 23rd Aug. 1784

Wrote my Brother & sent him to the care of Mr. McKnight in Alexandria a pr. Osnaburgs & 1 pr. Dowlas to be sent him by the first safe hand. Also wrote Mr. Baker and dated his letter in July about sundrys. (Both recd. by my Bro[the]r & Mr. Baker).<sup>102</sup>

24

TO JAMES BROWN AND COMPANY

Piscattaway 2d October 1784

Messrs. Jas. Brown & Co.  
Gentlemen

I refer you to my last of the date of the 20th July by the Jeany Capt. McGill, Since which Have received yours of the 18th June inclosing copy of the 23d March, by the Lyon on the 2d ultimo.

Your declining the business in this Country, after the letters you have wrote me on that Subject has been prejudicial to me

<sup>100</sup> As the result of a suit by Hamilton for debt payment, Thomas Dyer of Prince George's County deeded to Hamilton, December 15, 1788, "Edelen's Hogpen" containing 200 acres "together with the houses, buildings, Fencings, Orchards, and Improvements on the Same" (Land Records, Prince George's Co., Liber HH #2, ff. 572-575, HR). This may be the man referred to here. James Brown & Co. owed Thomas Dyer and Charles Lansdale (see Letter #47, *infra*) £19, currency, on January 1, 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 193).

<sup>101</sup> A Dr. William Baker was a delegate from Frederick County to the Maryland Convention of 1774 (J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* [3 vols., Baltimore, 1879], II, p. 151). Whether this is the same man is unknown. Dr. Baker is mentioned also in Letters #59 and #64, *infra*.

<sup>102</sup> This note appeared in the letterbook after the letter to Doctor Baker. Copies of the letters mentioned apparently were not kept by Hamilton.



*The State of Maryland From the Best Authorities, by Samuel Lewis.  
Engraved for Carey's Am. Ed. of Guthrie's Geography. 1795.  
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

(and would have been very mortifying if I had engaged store & apartment and bespoke somebody to ride after your debts) for from what you have said in these [earlier] letters I have refused two very good offers to take charge of two stores. I doubt not but the wages I should have got, would have been at least as good as what you may now give me, and a great deal less fatigue and plague, vexation & anxiety. However I shall do the best I can for you in settling & collecting your debts untill some better business offers which I dare say you will not have any objections to me accepting, and must also transgress your orders in making some Settlements, which I have done lately in some cases, one of which is by taking a bond from Samuel Canby<sup>103</sup> in Loudoun County in Virginia in my own Name for

<sup>103</sup> Samuel Canby, a Quaker merchant, moved from Pennsylvania to Loudoun County, Virginia, in 1769 where he married Elizabeth Hough a year later (William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950], VI. p. 480). He was the partner of John Hough and is mentioned

£277.11.5, this Currency, you will see by the list of balances he owed £182. . . 5. The Virginians will not pay any British debts alledging that the British has broke the treaty by Carryng away from New York, Contrary to the express words of it, property belonging to the subjects of the United States. This bond when due I can bring a suit for at anytime, had it been in your Name no suit could be brought for payment of it, indeed there might have been danger in pressing for it. But should you still be of [the] opinion that I have done wrong, you will say so positively, and that I must not take any more but in your Name. Please to observe that I do not make myself in any degree whatever lyable for any of the debts which I have taken in my own name, having done it for your advantage only and without any view of any advantage whatever accruing to me by such settlements. Indeed in my humble opinion making Settlements in your name, when you cannot bring a suit for them is doing very little, and at present nothing else can be got and very little of that. I wish in the long run you may not loose them altogether, for the longer I have to do with y[ou]r debtors, the more and greater the complaints are against paying Interest, and I am affraied that if that point be given up, they will refuse to pay the principal.

My collection has been so little that I shall not, without some better payments, be able to make you any remittance this year. They make promises of payment next year, but there is very little dependence on them, especially when they cannot be compelled by Law. I have been speaking to some few people about Mr. Dreghorns<sup>104</sup> Hoes, Axes & Nails, but cannot pretend to make any bargain for fear you may alter your mind and not send them. When they arrive I shall do the best for them I can.

The prices of Tobacco has continued 'till within this fortnight past as high as when I wrote you last, 45/ pCt. & 4 pCent for Cash. It is chiefly all sold. How such prices will do

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frequently in the Letterbook of Harry Piper of Alexandria, Va., now deposited in the Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Canby owed James Brown & Co. £182.0.5, currency, on bond of July 1773, in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 183, LC).

<sup>104</sup> Robert Dreghorn, partner in James Brown & Co., personally sent goods which he consigned to Hamilton in 1784. For more on this shipment see Letter #30, *infra* (see also "Letterbooks," I, p. 150).



in Europe you know best, but from what I can hear of them, the shippers will Suffer severely. The greatest crop of Tobacco is made, after the latest Tobo. is secured in the house, that ever was made in America, and it is expected it will fall rapidly. I never saw such quantitys growing before.

I have given in the accots. for the Bladensburgh and Piscataway stores to the Auditor General of this State, but have not yet been able to know their fate, when I get an accot. of it [I] shall inform you.

Mr. James Miller<sup>105</sup> goes home passanger in the Lion. He has left me favors to receive payment of Sundry debts due him out of which I am to pay you the balance he owes, having paid some part of it by a bond from two very good men and which is not due for sometime to come. You will please to inform me what you incline should be done with your store & Lott in Bladensburgh. I have not yet got it reconveyed nor do not intend [to do] it until the breaking up of the assembly (which will sitt the last of the month) unless something happens which may make it necessary. I have not tried nor do I expect to receive any rent for it untill I am satisfied there is not any danger in asking rent for it. I conveyed it away for the purpose I mentioned to you in a former letter, you are therefore to expect that whatever I have done you are to give me a proper authority for my indemnification in case of any damage I may sustain by the steps I have taken to secure your property from Confiscation & also a proper authority to dispose of it so that any deed I may make will be binding on you.

I am

Your most obt. Servant.  
A. Hamilton

By the Lion  
Capn. Donaldson<sup>106</sup>

<sup>105</sup> James Miller represented Simson, Baird & Co. and its successor James Brown & Co. at Bladensburg until January 1, 1774. He was listed as 33 years-old in 1776 and he returned from the trip to Scotland to serve as an agent for Hamilton in 1785 (*Maryland Gazette*, April 17, 1770, December 2, 1773; Census of 1776, Box 2, Folder 18, Prince George's Co., f. 19, HR; Chancery Records, Book 27, ff. 102-103, Md. Land Office; Scharf, *Maryland*, II, p. 172; Letters #54, #55, #56, #59, #63, *infra*).

<sup>106</sup> The *Lion* (sometimes *Lyon*), Capt. J. Donaldson, cleared Alexandria for Glasgow in early October 1784. She returned the following spring under the command of a Captain Campbell (*Alexandria, Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, October 7, 1784, May 19, 1785).

TO JAMES BROWN

Dear Sir

I refer you to my last of the 20th May since which I have received yours of the 18th June by the Lion in which there is not anything but what has been answered in my last.

Sometime ago I received a letter from Colo. George Mason ab[ou]t the goods you left with me belonging to John Pagan I wrote him for [an] answer that I had sold the goods and remitted you in Novr. 1774 a bill of Exchange for £85.15..8, having received it for part of the goods sold and that there was due by the compy. £71.10.10 Stg for the rest & some Money received in Mr. Pagans accot. which last some the list of Balances transmitted to the Compy. would show and that I was very willing to pay this balance to him or any other person properly authorised to receive it as soon as I could collect it from your debts. Since which I have received another letter from him informing me that he was authorised to receive the payment, desiring me to transmitt him a full state of the sales of the goods, which I shall do, with an accot. of Cash I received of Mr. Pagan and of whom, and which I presume will be agreeable to the intention of your letter of the 16th July 1783 and also shall make the payment as fast as I can collect it.

I have received very litle of your debts, and from appea[rances] litle will be received. I shall do all I can to get paid and as soon as possible.

I wrote you sometime ago about getting me a perfect knowledge of the situation of the debt due by my fathers estate to me. I am informed I will never get a farthing of it, that will be very hard indeed. There was estate enough when I put my affairs into your hands, and if Mr. Tate [John Tait] pleased he might, and considering everything, he ought to have given me a preference to every other debt not secured by mortgage. If I can get this money and the Interest on it, I would endeavour to get somebody to take me into trade for such a share as the money might entitle me to having respect to the Credit that such a Sum of ready money would get me. You will inform me fully what I have to depend on from that quarter.

I inclose you a copy of Mr. Hoggan's will, which you'll please to give to his sisters, and send me a state of your claims against him and what part of the venture he had which you sent him. Also inquire about the goods he had of Messrs. Sterling & Sons<sup>107</sup> and what Conditions he had with them. All of which I should be glad [to know] how soon you could inform me, that his accot. with the Company may be settled and his sisters fully satisfied. You will please to inform them of this and that I shall transmitt them a state of their affairs as soon as you put it in my hands.

I am Dear Sir

Your very hble. Servt.  
Alex. Hamilton

By the Lion  
Captn. Donaldson

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TO JOHN ANDERSON

Piscattaway 18th October 1784

Dear Sir

I have taken this opportunity of informing you that I returned to this place in January last from the backwoods of Virginia where I resided during the late war, that my present employment, not one of the most agreeable, is that of Collecting J. B. & Coys old debts, they having declined any business here for sometime, and that I am glad to hear you are happily settled in London with your Brother. I wish you success in your business.

Give me leave to introduce to you Mr. Nathaniel Newton a gentleman you was acquainted with when you lived here. He goes to England about some property that has fallen to him by the death of an uncle. He is a very worthy honest man and you will lay me under a great obligation by doing him every

<sup>107</sup> William Sterling & Sons dealt with James Brown & Co. just prior to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War (Chancery Record Book #27, f. 100, Md. Land Office).

act of Civility & kindness in your power. I should be very glad to hear from you, and to do you any service I can on this side of the water.

I am Dear Sir

Your very hble. Servt.  
Alex. Hamilton

Mr. John Anderson<sup>108</sup> of the house of  
John & Alexr. Anderson, Merchants.  
in London.

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TO CHRISTOPHER RICHMOND

Piscataway 20th October 1784

Dear Sir

If you have a little time to spare I shall be obliged to you to inform me if anything is done with the accots. I lodged with you against the Estate of Mr. [Jonathan] Boucher. If they are to be paid in what manner? The Law says the payment is to be made immediately after the first day of this month. Have you look'd into the accot. of Messrs. Glassford & Coy.? Please to inform me about this also. Excuse this trouble and I will repay it when in my power.

I am

Your most obt. sevt.  
Alexr. Hamilton

To the Auditor General

Maj. Christopher Richmond<sup>109</sup>

Annapolis, by fav[ou]r of Mr. [John] Baynes

<sup>108</sup> John Anderson had been a factor for George & Andrew Buchanan of Glasgow ("Letterbooks," III, p. 166n) before the Revolutionary War in Newport, Charles Co. Nathaniel Newton had an account with James Brown & Co. before the Revolution (Glassford Papers, vol. 26, LC) and he took an oath to the State of Maryland in 1778 (Oath of Fidelity, Prince George's Co., 1778, Box 4, Folder 31, p. 5, HR). This letter is one of the few not to James Brown & Co. or James Brown, personally, appearing in volume 34 of the John Glassford & Company Papers.

<sup>109</sup> Richmond represented James Russell of London at Upper Marlboro before the war, served as an officer in the Second Maryland Regiment, became associated with Gov. Thomas Sim Lee, briefly served on the Governor's Council, and was a member of the Annapolis Board of Aldermen during the 1790's

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TO DAVID BUCHANAN<sup>110</sup>

Piscataway 20th October 1784

Sir

I received a letter from your Brother<sup>111</sup> dated the 19th June last, it came by the Lion. I wrote him on March last informing him that his Negroe Wench & Child with the two other Children, girls, born since he left the Country, were alive, and wanted to know what I should do with them. The Wench is upwards of 40 & the Children 9, 7 & 4 years old. I could not get any hire for her during the War, as she was breeding & had Children, but ma[i]ntained her & children & paid their taxes for her labour.

He wrote me to sell them. I advertised them for sale, in Berkeley County where they are at this time and where I lived 'till January last, for ready money but could not get what they were worth, at least what I would give for them if I had the money. Though it is more than I would give for any others of the same age & quality, nor would I buy any, but as they, to prevent confiscation, passed for my property & were brought up under my own eye, & in a time of distress with me, they have become attached to me & my Brothers family and are unwilling to go to any other person, for which reason, I will give your Brother £100 stg. payable in twelve months bearing

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(*Maryland Gazette*, September 15, 1768, August 17, 1769; Scharf, *Maryland*, III, p. 763; Harrison Tilghman, "The Society of Cincinnati," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLI [December 1946], p. 336; Helen Lee Peabody [ed.], "Revolutionary Mail Bag: Governor Thomas Sim Lee's Correspondence, 1779-1782," *ibid.*, XLIX [June 1954], pp. 124-125, 130-131; Max P. Allen, "William Pinkney's Public Career, 1788-1796," *ibid.*, XL [September 1945], p. 226). As Auditor General he was closely associated with Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Intendant of Revenue, in the settling of claims against confiscated Loyalist estates. Richmond also was interested in soliciting subscriptions for the Potowmack Canal project (*Maryland Gazette*, April 7 and 21, 1785).

<sup>110</sup> Hamilton addresses this letter mistakenly to a George Buchanan and thus has to write a second one (included below) to the correct person. The firm of Andrew Buchanan & Sons of Glasgow operated in Virginia as early as 1736 mostly with stores in the James River area (*Virginia Gazette*, September 17, 1736; *ibid.*, [Purdie & Dixon], July 4, 1766). David Buchanan eventually became an alderman of Petersburg in 1790 (*Calendar of Virginia State Papers* [Richmond, 1881], V, p. 22). The note of October 25, 1784 to David Buchanan comes after Letter #29 in the Hamilton Letterbook, LC.

<sup>111</sup> Andrew Buchanan (Jr?). For more on this matter see Letter #35, *infra*.

Interest at five per cent from this day until paid. Should you approve of this proposal you will inform me as soon as you can. As I am a Stranger to you, it may be prudent to satisfy yourself about me. I am not acquainted with anybody your way except Mr. James Campbell of Blanford<sup>112</sup> & Mr. Henry Lockhead,<sup>113</sup> the last I have not seen for these many years. By giving Credit and Selling them separate you may probably get some little more for them, out of which will be taken my expences in going up to Berkely & selling them, but I would not choose to sell [them] on Credit without your approbation, nor to separate them without yo[ur] desire, as your brother wished they might be sold to a good master.

I am Sir

your hble Servant  
Alex. Hamilton

Mr. George Buchanan  
Mercht. Petersburg  
By Post

Piscattaway 25th October 1784

Sir

Above is a copy of a letter I intended for you but since I sent it off have been informed that my address was wrong. This now to inform you that in case the letter is in your place when this comes to hand or should it get there afterwards you will take it up. I wish it may not have fallen into other hands.

<sup>112</sup> A James Campbell & Co. with operations headquartered in Norfolk operated in the lower Chesapeake region in the 1770's. However, the death of James Campbell, merchant in Essex Co., Va., is reported in 1774 (*Virginia Gazette*, [P & D], May 9, 1771, January 27, April 7, 1774). The man referred to here may be related to this James Campbell. Blanford is now part of Petersburg, Va. A firm of Campbell and Wheeler of Petersburg, later operated as a charter agent for James Maury of Liverpool (Alexandria, *Virginia Journal*, June 14, 1787).

<sup>113</sup> Henry Lockhead was an independent merchant who shipped tobacco to Scottish firms before the Revolutionary War (Robert Polk Thomson, "The Tobacco Export of the Upper James River Naval District, 1773-75," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, XVIII [July 1961], pp. 403-404). He advertised frequently for goods sold at his Petersburg store and in August 1776 that he intended "to leave the Colony immediately" (*Virginia Gazette* [P & D], April 19, 1770, April 15, 1773, February 17, 1774; *ibid.* [Purdie], February 3, 1775; *ibid.*, [Dixon & Hunter], August 10, 1776). He evidently had close connections with the Potomac valley traders since he was an heir and executor of the estate of John Semple of Prince William County (Will Books, Liber G, ff. 469-470, Prince William Co. Court House, Manassas, Va.).

If any letters from Glasgow should come to your place for me I shall be obliged to you to forward them. I am with respect

Your very hble servant  
Alexr. Hamilton

Mr. David Buchanan  
Merchant in Petersburg

29

TO MATTHEW BLAIR

Piscattaway 21st October 1784

Dear Sir

I received your favour on Tuesday Evening covering a Letter from Mr. James Brown. You are wellcome to Maryland, and I wish you success in your business, and should have been very glad you could have suited yourself nearer this place than among those cursed marshes at Chaptico where you will be eased of your superfluous British flesh. I must come down & see you soon for I suppose you will be too much engaged to ride up this length for sometime. Did you see Mr. [James] Miller as he went down the Bay? He has left some few Volumes at Bladensburgh for your perusal when you have some spare time. I am trying to collect money but get none. Interest is the Cry, they will not pay it. It is a damned business for an old grey hair'd man to be pestered with. Should your business carry you to Portobacco to see Mr. Fergusson, drop me a line & I will try to meet you there. I am obliged to be at Bladensburgh to morrow. Mr. [John] Baynes gives his Complements to you. Believe me to be for I am Sincerely

Your most obt. sevt.

Your most obt. sevt.  
Alexr. Hamilton

Mr. Matthew Blair<sup>114</sup>  
Chaptico  
By Post

<sup>114</sup> Blair eventually settled in Charles Co. where in 1790 his household contained four white males over 16 and one slave (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 47). He represented Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. of Glasgow at Newport before the Revolution and continued as a Findlay factor in Maryland upon his return ("Letterbooks," III, p. 144n; Letter #36, *infra*). He was associated with Hamilton in the collection of debts in the 1790's (Land Records, Charles Co., Liber K #4, ff. 47-51, 410-412, HR).

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*In Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the  
League of Nations*

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LORD GREY, THE UNITED STATES,  
AND THE POLITICAL EFFORT  
FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS,  
1914-1920.

By LEON BOOTHE

THE cultural shock brought on by the increased ability of man to destroy himself through technological innovations introduced during World War I caused many statesmen to think that an improved basis of international relations must be put forward. There was a strong feeling among these concerned individuals that this must be the last war of its type and magnitude. Among the men who pushed the hardest for the creation of a new concert of power was Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary of Britain from 1905-1916.

The British Foreign Secretary realized that the road towards the creation of a new international accord would have to deal with many difficult and complex details. While realizing this, he was in an extremely embarrassing position as an important official of a key belligerent power. Any organization that might be started or any comment made towards the creation of a post-war international institution might easily be misinterpreted to have pacifist overtones, a cardinal sin in those war days in England. Another dangerous reason for not having Britain take the lead in such matters was the possible reaction in the United States of the Anglophobes. Grey realized that public action on his part for a league of nations might eliminate American participation in a post-war league on the basis that it might be construed in some quarters as an English plan to preserve the British Empire. Above all, Grey felt that the



United States would have to be a member of the post-war organization he generally envisioned if it was to succeed.

The United States was clearly the one country which could undertake appropriately the lead towards the creation of a league of nations. It was in this direction that Grey was to turn his influence. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, American Minister to the Netherlands, returned to the United States in November 1914 for surgical treatment. During Van Dyke's stopover in Britain, Grey utilized this opportunity to send a personal message to President Wilson. Grey's message to Wilson was an expression of hope that the United States would actively participate in some post war effort to preserve the peace. Sustaining his offensive, Grey had Cecil Spring Rice, British Ambassador to the United States, convey a confidential letter of December 22, 1914 to President Wilson and Colonel House, one of Wilson's closest advisors. This message informed the President:

An agreement between the Great Powers at the end of this war with the object of mutual security and preservation of peace in the future might have stability if the United States would become a party to it and were prepared to join in repressing by force whoever broke the Treaty.

In February 1915, Grey received an encouraging response from the American national leadership in his talks with Colonel House. In the Foreign Secretary's report to Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, Grey stated: "Colonel House repeated several times that he felt that the President, and myself, and himself, were animated by a common purpose with regard to the objects to be secured in the terms of Peace."<sup>1</sup>

Realizing that England must start preparing her plans for any post war society of nations, Grey was happy to give his personal blessing to the effort of certain British internationalists to set up a private group. This group was led by Lord James Bryce, noted political scientist and former British Ambassador to the United States, 1907-1913. All efforts in Britain still had to be on a private basis because the English public largely felt

<sup>1</sup> Henry Van Dyke, *Fighting for Peace* (New York, 1917), p. 22.

George M. Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon* (Boston, 1937), pp. 356-357, 359.

John H. Latané, ed., *Development of the League of Nations Idea: The Marburg Papers* (New York, 1932), I, pp. 1-75.

"that any Englishman who uses the word 'peace' ought to be shot." With this realization, Lord Grey and the Bryce Group began to urge that the United States take the lead by publicly establishing some organization that would actively publicize the need for the creation of an international peace-keeping union of nations. The British encouragement gave impetus to a group of American internationalists, who after many meetings, formed a League to Enforce Peace in Philadelphia on June 17, 1915.<sup>2</sup>

Grey suddenly found that the movement he had strongly encouraged in the United States had put him and his country somewhat on the defensive. William G. Marburg, a well known American newspaperman and the Chairman of the Foreign Organization Committee of the League to Enforce Peace, addressed the British internationalists in August 1915: "We were led to believe that Great Britain preferred to have a League of Peace originate in America. . . ." Based on this hypothesis, Marburg asked that "an English branch" of the American League be established. The British internationalists replied negatively because Britain's belligerency made the war the all consuming subject. Anything else could be expected to receive little attention. As late as December 1916, Grey expressed continued British reservations on this subject when he wrote Professor Gilbert Murray: "As to the League to Enforce Peace, I doubt whether much can be done in public here as long as the war continues to be the subject not only of absorbing interest but of anxiety. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Realizing that lack of public activity by the British might discourage the American League to Enforce Peace, Grey and the British internationalists urged G. Lowes Dickinson to go to the United States in January 1916 to thank the Americans for their acceptance of Grey's unofficial suggestion to take the lead in calling publicly for a post war society of nations. More importantly, Dickinson was to contact leading American politicians of both major parties who were known partisans of the league idea and to tell them privately that such a concept would be supported by England. This was to be but the first

<sup>2</sup> Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page* (Garden City, New York, 1923), II, p. 158; E. M. Forster, *Goldsworthy L. Dickinson* (London, 1934), pp. 164-166. Latané, *Marburg Papers*, I, pp. 1-92.

<sup>3</sup> Latané, *Marburg Papers*, I, pp. 61-62. Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, p. 376.

of several missions that was to provide a liason between the British and American groups. Grey used other means to send reassuring messages to the United States. Just before American Ambassador Walter Hines Page was to sail for the United States in July, 1916, Grey had a long conversation with him expressing again his unofficial support for the idea inherent in the League to Enforce Peace. The British Foreign Minister confided to Page that had such an organization existed in 1914, World War I might have been averted.<sup>4</sup>

The League to Enforce Peace had its own opportunity to probe the British advocates of a league when Marburg went to Europe in January, 1916, to see his wounded aviator son. Marburg proceeded to talk to the British internationalists in the league movement. With Lord Bryce's encouragement, Mar-



Woodrow Wilson. 1856-1924.  
*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection*

<sup>4</sup> E. M. Forster, *Goldsworthy L. Dickinson* (London, 1934), pp. 166-167; Trevelyan, *Grey*, p. 355; Hendrick, *Page*, II, pp. 163-165; Keith G. Robbins, "Lord Bryce and the First World War," *The Historical Journal* (Cambridge University Press), vol. 10, pp. 265-267.

burg arranged a meeting with Grey. The American left the meeting with Grey deeply impressed that the Foreign Secretary ardently believed in a league of nations. Grey's commitment took on even more significance when such a British activist in behalf of a league as Aneurin Williams, the Treasurer of the study group known as the League of Nations Society, informed Marburg that Grey was a most key figure in the whole British movement for an international association of nations. Such verbal commitments were the very thing the Americans wanted.<sup>5</sup>

President Wilson and other leading American politicians agreed to address a meeting of the League to Enforce Peace on May 27, 1916. In preparing an appropriate speech for the occasion, Wilson asked his chief political adviser, Colonel Edward House, to summarize the contents of House's correspondence with Grey. This correspondence had begun at House's suggestion in order for intimate and secret communications to be sent directly to the President. In this voluminous correspondence between House and Grey, there were many assertions and discussions of the need for a permanent conference of nations. Utilizing House's summary, Wilson proceeded to give a very general endorsement of the League to Enforce Peace. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge also spoke that same evening and in turn gave a general endorsement. The movement for the creation of a peace keeping organization after the war seemed well on its way with such vital endorsements.<sup>6</sup>

Evidently emboldened by Wilson's commitment, Grey proceeded to make his strongest public statement while in his position as Foreign Secretary. In answer to a cable from President of the League to Enforce Peace, William Howard Taft, Grey sent a reply on November 23, 1916, which Taft read at a public banquet of the League the next day. Grey stated that he felt that a league of nations was the only hope of saving the world from aggressive wars and then said:

I think public utterances must have already made it clear that I sincerely desire to see a League of Nations formed and made

<sup>5</sup> Latané, *Marburg Papers*, I, pp. 98, 157-160.

<sup>6</sup> Seymour, *House Papers*, IV, p. 3; Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, p. 359; Albert Shaw, ed., *The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1942), I, pp. 271-275.

effective to secure the future peace of the world after this war is over. . . . If there is any doubt about my sentiments in this matter I hope this telegram in reply will remove it.

However this special support was shortlived as Grey resigned as Foreign Secretary the following month.<sup>7</sup>

In the United States, League partisans began to despair by 1917 as to Wilson's dedication to the idea of an international organization. The American President had not given any further public encouragement to the American internationalists since his May 1916 speech. Wilson felt that premature discussion would only lead to confusion and rife partisanship. Hoping to keep the project of the development of the league closely associated with himself, President Wilson proceeded to discourage any effort by the American pro-league advocates that might "nourish . . . individual opinions" on this scheme.<sup>8</sup>

Wilson's lack of encouragement of the American League to Enforce Peace was very discouraging to the British. A source of continuing concern to the English internationalists was the past American tradition of non-entanglements. Grey had spoken of this on October 23, 1916, to the Foreign Press Association in London. Grey revealed his fear that Americans might not support a League of Nations when he said: "The question we must ask them is this: 'Will you play up when the time comes?'" The British Foreign Secretary then pointedly said that national sentiments and the approval of parliaments count much more in the end result than the views of certain leaders. Grey again revealed this phobia by writing Marburg on February 19, 1917, that one factor that kept the British from making the issue public was "the fear that your Senate will never agree to the United States pledging itself to be an effective member of such a League." It seemed incomprehensible that Wilson could or would expect the Americans to make a radical departure from past diplomatic tradition and at the same time be stifling any efforts towards educating the American public and political opinion on the issues involved.<sup>9</sup>

If Wilson did not understand the developing situation, the

<sup>7</sup> Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon*, p. 364.

<sup>8</sup> Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York, 1939), II, p. 939.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Goldsmith, *A League to Enforce Peace* (New York, 1917), pp. 287-288; Latané, *Marburg Papers*, I, pp. 270-271.

British pro-league groups did. The entrance of the United States into the war in April, 1917, plus President Wilson's general endorsement of the league principle in 1916 helped to remove any pacifist stigma of such a public movement in Britain. The Bryce group, which had been a private research and study group for two years, decided that the time was now propitious for bringing the issues to the public. This group felt also that it was right that Americans should receive some public expression of English opinion on the idea of a league. To inaugurate this movement into the new educational phase, the League of Nations Society released their studies and announced "it has received the approval of the present and late Premiers and Foreign Secretaries." The Bryce group was unabashed in announcing their purpose as being "to help British citizens to think clearly on the various problems arriving out of relations between different countries, so that the labours of statesmen for the establishment of a happier condition of things shall have the encouragement and support of enlightened public opinion." American internationalists had their public commitment which they had wanted.<sup>10</sup>

Having made the big step of public commitment, English leaders sought to pressure the Wilson Administration to develop the practical plans for setting up the machinery for any postwar peace keeping organization. Being pragmatist enough to realize that one could not wait until the last moment to develop a constitution to govern such a complex problem as international relations, former Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and now Blockade Minister Lord Robert Cecil suggested to Colonel House on September 3, 1917, that the United States establish a "Commission of learned and distinguished men" to examine various schemes "in order to see what was possible and useful." Wilson's only response was a statement of war aims in his famous Fourteen Points Speech in January 1918. This speech has always been used to illustrate Wilson's identity with the League concept. However examination of this speech clearly shows that Wilson's handling of the league issue was again general in nature. Theoretically and pragmatically, Wilson had hardly advanced from his announced position in 1916. Marburg described the speech which has be-

<sup>10</sup> Latané, *Marburg Papers*, II, pp. 817-818.

come so renowned as a "summary of his previously uttered thoughts on the subject of a lasting peace."

Receiving no satisfactory response from the American government, Cecil notified House that the British government had appointed a committee to investigate into material relating to a league of nations and this group would report what they "deemed possible and expedient." This group was to become known as the Phillimore Committee. At the same time, Lord Bryce undertook a massive letter writing campaign to various league advocates in America posing the question: ". . . Can't something be done to press the Administration to make a beginning with a study of the difficulties and methods?" Bryce was shockingly frank in his letters in trying to circumvent President Wilson's procrastination by proposing that league advocates take it upon themselves to form their own committee should the American government fail to act.<sup>11</sup>

If Wilson did not understand that the tide of destiny of this issue was being taken away from him, Colonel House certainly did and so informed the American President on March 8, 1918. The Presidential aide suggested the establishment of a committee "to work out plans which might be used as suggestions at the Peace Conference." Wilson's only positive response to the prodding was in directing Colonel House to establish a fact finding group known as the Inquiry. The Inquiry's main purpose was to investigate what the Allied programs would be at some future peace conference rather than thinking out some definite constitutional framework for a league of nations. This group fell far short of the type of commission which the British wanted or even suggested. Bryce's efforts to encourage the pro-league elements in the United States was nipped by Wilson.

Marburg had sent a copy of Bryce's letter to him to the President. Wilson responded on March 8: "Frankly, I do not feel it is wise to discuss the formal constitution of a league to enforce peace." Marburg wrote in obvious frustration to Bryce that there was little use in forming any sort of study committee without the President's approval. Thanks to an in-

<sup>11</sup> Seymour, *House Papers*, IV, pp. 6-9; Latané, *Marburg Papers*, II, p. 766; Henry R. Winkler, *The League of Nations Movement in Great Britain* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1952), pp. 20-21; Robbins, "Lord Bryce . . .", *Historical Journal*, p. 272.



Col. Edward M. House.

vation from Colonel House, Marburg wrote that the League to Enforce Peace was going to turn its research over to House.

Unfortunately Wilson's interest was not to develop much further. When the British threatened to publish the findings of their Phillimore Committee, Wilson finally yielded to British pressure to take a more serious attitude towards preparations for a league of nations. In return the British promised to delay the publication of their report. Wilson felt that such a publication would cause a tremendous debate to break out in the United States on the league issue which would affect his control of the movement and might affect the congressional elections of 1918. President Wilson's actions however were limited to having House rewrite the Phillimore report utilizing American principles. Wilson met Colonel House in New England on August 15, 1918, where the President revealed that he in turn had rewritten House's version.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Latané, *Marburg Papers*, I, pp. 412-419; Seymour, *House Papers*, IV, pp. 9-22; Woodrow Wilson Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Series 5A, Box 3; Edward M. House Manuscript Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, File VI, William Wiseman Correspondence.



Grey had joined in the effort to persuade President Wilson to prepare some sort of a detailed program for a league of nations. In early July 1918, Grey sent a copy of a pamphlet he had written to express some of his ideas about a post war league. Lord Grey notified Colonel House that he sent the pamphlet to try to be of "real help" to the President in formulating some sort of program. The former Foreign Secretary offered to aid the President at any future "opportune moment." Grey's efforts were for naught as House notified his British friend that the time was not opportune to take up such a task as the President was too absorbed with the conduct of the war. Hoping to show that there was not a complete vacuum, House wrote Grey: "Personally, I am studying the matter closely, especially in an endeavor to overcome the practical difficulties you outline. . . ." <sup>13</sup>

Wilson's gross procrastination caught up with him in the quick ending of the war. Even though there was a last minute effort to write a skeleton draft constitution for a league of nations on board the President's ship, the *George Washington*, Wilson's tardiness was clear to all. This fact embittered many liberals who believed the President had thought out a comprehensive scheme for a league of nations. The most famous reaction of this disillusionment was the attack of noted economist John Maynard Keynes: "But in fact the President had thought out nothing; when it came to practice his ideas were nebulous and incomplete." While Wilson can be criticized for failing to work out a detailed program, still he must be given credit for popularizing the general principle of the league idea to the extent that it would definitely be placed on the Peace Conference agenda. <sup>14</sup>

Even though out of office, Lord Grey had maintained a watchful and influential role in the league movement in Britain. This movement ran into trouble in the summer of 1918 with the formation of another organization advocating an international society, the League of Free Nations Association. This group was very much under the influence of Prime Minister David Lloyd George, having been founded by Lloyd George's former Secretary, David Davies. The purpose of this

<sup>13</sup> House Papers, File VI, Grey and Wiseman Correspondence.

<sup>14</sup> John M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York, 1920), p. 43; Latané, *Marburg Papers*, II, p. 763.

group was to perpetuate the wartime alliance into the new peace keeping organization.

This new organization was dangerous in that it would tend to split the league advocates at a crucial time when they would need all their strength to achieve their purpose. The resolution of this cleavage again reflected the vital role being played by Grey. The former Foreign Minister was one of the few persons who had the prestige and popularity to bridge the rift. In November 1918, the two pro-league groups merged into a common front organization known as the League of Nations Union; its President was Sir Edward Grey. England had thus achieved a solidarity of purpose and was ready to go to the Peace Conference; whereas the United States, the initial public leader in the league movement, was generally unprepared and uninformed.<sup>15</sup>

To the average European, Wilson's unpreparedness had no immediate bearing upon them. The American President's arrival in the old world would give them a chance to unfold the tremendous pent-up emotions of four years of war. American intervention had saved the Western European Powers during the war and the principles which Wilson thundered from the White House promised a peaceful salvation for the future. No wonder people thought of him in messianic terms.

Britain's reception followed the blueprint of the emotional out-pouring of the moment. The League of Nations Union utilized the opportunity of the moment and gave a special dinner in Wilson's behalf. Of particular interest to the American President was the chance to talk to the man whom Wilson very much admired, Lord Grey. In a brief speech to the group, Wilson thanked them for helping to popularize the league concept, a strange statement based upon his previous actions. Then Wilson paid a public tribute to the League's President in stating: "I was just saying to Lord Grey that we had indirect knowledge of each other and that I am glad to identify him. I feel as if I met him long ago. . . ."

Grey must have felt that he had made a good impression upon the President as he undertook an admittedly bold move right before the Peace Conference opened. The British leader

<sup>15</sup> Robbins, "Lord Bryce . . .", p. 273; Winkler, *League Movement in Britain*, pp. 75-76.

sent a letter that contained some of his thoughts which he wanted to tell the President the night of the dinner but felt wiser not to in such a public place. Grey emphasized to the President: "Our great fear is that a League of Nations might be wrecked by the Senate in the United States. We are afraid that for us to force the pace here might contribute to that result."<sup>16</sup>

With the opening of the Peace conference, confusion reigned with the introduction of various proposals from the major powers. Hoping to arrange some sort of a consensus of the different drafts, the Peace conference appointed a commission of legal advisers to draw up a working draft for the assembled powers. During the trying period of working out a draft, David Hunter Miller, an American member of this commission seeking compromise, paid a great tribute to the intellectual spirit of Sir Edward Grey in noting: ". . . I shall allude to what I believe to be the fact, that the work and utterances of Lord Grey had a deep influence upon the minds of all the official and semi-official draftsmen, even upon those who were unconscious of that influence. . . ." Theodore Marburg, a staunch Wilsonian, complimented Grey also in noting that Wilson's remarks supplemented "Lord Grey's open advocacy of the League project. . . ." Grey's hard work was reaping its dividends in Paris even though the elder statesman was not there in person.<sup>17</sup>

But fate was not going to allow Lord Grey, who was now half blind, to rest upon his past laurels in regards to the league issue. President Wilson was in trouble politically when he returned from Paris with the Peace Treaty on July 9, 1919. The wartime spirit which had exalted the American people to work to "save the world for Democracy" was rapidly dissipating in the confrontation with domestic unrest and the high cost of living. The American Chief Executive had also the problem of dealing with those elements of American society which had been alienated by the war and the actions of the Peace Conference: the German-Americans, the Italian Americans, the Irish, the pacifists, and the isolationists. If this were not

<sup>16</sup> Trevelyan, *Grey*, pp. 396-397; Ray S. Baker and William E. Dodd, *Messages, Addresses and Public Papers by Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1927), V, p. 340.

<sup>17</sup> E. M. House and Charles Seymour, eds., *What Really Happened at Paris* (New York, 1921), pp. 400-405; Latané, *Marburg Papers*, II, p. 763.



Robert Lansing. 1864-1928.

enough, Wilson had to deal with the most important group that could directly affect his peace program—the Republican Party and in particular the Republican controlled Senate. Wilson's relationship with the opposition had reached a nadir by the time he returned from Paris. The American President had consistently snubbed and angered the Republicans from the congressional elections of 1918, in which he indirectly impugned the patriotism of the opposition party, to a constant denial to allow the Republican leadership any direct voice in the shaping of the Peace Treaty, such as refusing to appoint a major Republican leader as a Peace Commissioner. Wilson's attitude had not mellowed any upon his return; if anything, it had hardened with such statements that the Senate was going to have to take its medicine.<sup>18</sup>

The Allies were very much aware of the political situation through official and private reports. One British report stated frankly:

<sup>18</sup> M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *Portrait of an Independent, Moorfield Story* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 328-331; Wilson Papers, Series II, Box 159; Nicholas Butler, *Across the Busy Years* (New York, 1940), II, pp. 197-201.

. . . It is not difficult to feel some sympathy with the Republicans. . . . The President is as strong a party man as the worst of his opponents; he considers the war was won by the Democrats and it is now the duty of the Republicans to sign the Treaty without reading it.

The report related the evident truth in noting: "Circumstance must compel the President and the Republicans to get together somewhere and the question is how obstinate each will be and how long they will take." The one hopeful sign to the Allies was that all indications were that an overwhelming majority of the American people wished to join the new League of Nations. The problem before the Allies was the decision whether to try to intervene subtly with the President to get him to compromise.<sup>19</sup>

The first indication of the Allied decision regarding their role in the American political deadlock came in a letter from House to Wilson. Colonel House told the President that the British government was pressing Lord Grey to accept the vacant ambassadorship in the United States. Colonel House, who fully realized the political exigencies that Wilson faced, was also encouraging his English friend to undertake this important responsibility. When the political situation in the United States did not improve, Lord Grey yielded to the various pressures and accepted a temporary mission to the United States after working out mutual agreements on general policies with the Lloyd George government. His decision was dictated by his great desire to see the League of Nations become a success. Grey felt American membership was the key to that success.

House proceeded to praise Grey in letters to Wilson with such statements as: ". . . You will find him the most satisfactory man representing a foreign government with whom you have had to deal," and "He is laying down conditions which will be of the greatest advantage in the settlement of controversies."<sup>20</sup>

The newspaper world responded enthusiastically to the announcement in the House of Commons on August 14, 1919, that Lord Grey had been appointed as a Special Ambassador to the United States. The *Daily Chronicle* stated that Grey had

<sup>19</sup> *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, 1st Series (London, 1954), V, pp. 993-995.

<sup>20</sup> Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, II, Box 160, pp. 191-192; Seymour, *House Papers*, IV, pp. 510-514.

the cause of the League of Nations at heart and his "rare tact and knowledge" made him especially qualified to deal with President Wilson. The American Chief Executive responded very favorably to the appointment when he wrote House: "I am delighted to believe that his health permits him to accept this appointment and shall look forward with great pleasure to being associated with him."<sup>21</sup>

What seemed to be a perfect decision on the part of the Allies faded with the unfortunate timing of the new British Ambassador's arrival. Wilson had just suffered his physical collapse while on his western speaking tour. As the evidence became available that Wilson was seriously ill, Grey sadly notified the British Foreign Office that he had been informed by the State Department that no question could be submitted to the President for at least two months due to the President's illness.

With the White House closed to him, Grey began actively to cooperate with Secretary of State Lansing and Colonel House. Lansing had become more important with Wilson's illness as many Democratic Senators were now consulting with him on the Treaty fight. The Secretary of State was particularly a good liaison between Senator Gilbert Hitchcock, the Democratic Minority leader, and Ambassador Grey. The intimacy between Lansing and Grey became strong enough that Grey even proposed a reservation of his own which the British Ambassador hoped might end the deadlock.<sup>22</sup>

When the Peace Treaty came up for a vote the first time on November 19, 1919, Wilson remained firm in his previously stated position and ordered all Democrats who were loyal to him to oppose the Republican reservations. Neither party was able to garner the necessary two thirds vote for their proposal and the Peace Treaty was defeated.

Realizing the urgency of the situation, Grey privately told House that the Allies would in the end accept the reservations rather than see the United States stay out of the League of Nations. With this news, House realized that Wilson could now

<sup>21</sup> Wilson Papers, II, Box 161.

<sup>22</sup> *British Documents*, 1919, V, pp. 1003, 1007; Robert Lansing Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Diary, Oct. 13-27, 1919; Gilbert H. Hitchcock Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, vol. II.

compromise without feeling guilty that he was betraying the other major signatories to the Paris Pact or reopening the Peace Treaty to a new round of negotiations and amendments. In late November, House sent two major letters to the White House imploring the President to compromise. For reasons unknown to House, he was now *persona non grata* at the White House and neither of his letters were answered.<sup>23</sup>

Shaken by the course of events, Grey began to talk to politicians of both parties trying to mediate the differences between the opposing pro-league factions. In late November and early December, Grey notified his government that House "is not allowed to see the President" and there did not seem to be any way to reach the President through the mails. Grey lamented that the prospect of talking to Wilson was indeed remote. When Grey learned that President Wilson would not receive him officially or unofficially because the British Ambassador had failed to send home a member of the British Embassy for making indiscreet remarks about the second Mrs. Wilson, Grey made his decision to return to Britain. With his public voice stilled by his diplomatic assignment, Grey notified the British Foreign Office: "... The greatest service I could render at this moment to good relations between the two countries would be a public announcement of the situation here given with a full understanding of the American point of view, but this I could only do at home to a British audience or press." Foreign Secretary Curzon approved of Grey's plans, and the Ambassador embarked for Britain in January.<sup>24</sup>

Again the preponderance of the Anglo-American press reacted in Grey's behalf. The *Literary Digest* of January 24, 1920, stated that the illness of President Wilson had "fettered" Lord Grey's mission to the United States. The *Times* of December 23 had commented that Grey's purpose was to try to get in close contact with President Wilson. Since illness had prevented the primary objective from being fulfilled, Grey had done admirable work in secondary channels by making intimate contacts with politicians of both political parties.

Grey's return to Britain coincided with signs of political unrest within the Democratic Party against the uncompromising

<sup>23</sup> Seymour, *House Papers*, IV, p. 508; Wilson Papers, II, Box 164.

<sup>24</sup> *British Documents*, 1919, V, pp. 1044-1056; Lansing Papers, Diary, Dec., 1919.

attitude of the Chief Executive. The climax of this unrest occurred with the convening of a bipartisan Senatorial committee to try to arrange some sort of compromise to pass the treaty. Public pressure was building throughout the United States for both parties to compromise as the differences seemed to many to be petty in nature.<sup>25</sup>

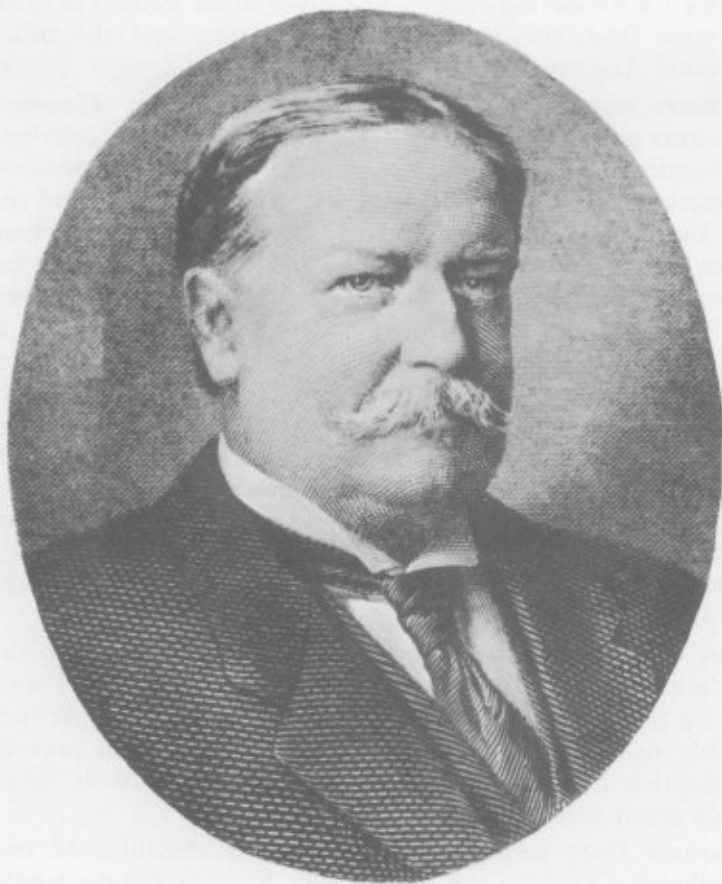
With Wilson surrounded by revolt, Grey, who had tendered his resignation as Ambassador, thought the time for action was at hand. Lord Grey innovated diplomatically to meet the needs of the American political crisis by publishing a letter in the *Times* on January 31, 1920. The author presented the epistle as a newsletter from an informed private British citizen to his fellow citizens in England. It was glaringly evident through the mask of propriety that this letter was directed also to the American people as well as to the semi-invalid in the White House. The former Ambassador sought to explain the American constitutional and historical influences involved in the political divisions over the League of Nations. However, Grey's main plea was that the Allies must rise to the occasion and accept the Republican reservations to the Peace Treaty. To Grey, the important factor was that the United States belong to the new international association. Without the United States participating in the League of Nations, the organization would become just a derelict European concert of power. The spirit of membership was to be the determining point of the League's success and not the wording.

The response was clearly positive in a majority sense on both sides of the Atlantic. *Outlook* of February 11 stated emphatically that Grey's letter had now provided a basis for the American adoption of the Peace Treaty. The *Times* kept abreast of world opinion regarding the letter and by February 6 was reporting that it seemed as if the letter had achieved its real purpose.

Personal reaction was equally as positive. Republican Senator Hiram Johnson of California, who irreconcilably opposed the American entry into the League of Nations, stated that if Great Britain did not object, then Wilson's stand made him the main obstructionist. William Howard Taft wrote an article in which he said that Wilson's pride of authorship, which Taft

<sup>25</sup> *Times*, Dec. 19, 1919; Jan. 10 and 17, 1920.





William H. Taft. 1857-1930.

had concluded was the main factor blocking compromise, was made untenable by Lord Grey's letter.

There were a few sources of criticism regarding Lord Grey's novel attempt to persuade the Americans to meet the emergency facing them. Some of the President's closest supporters cried that this was shameless interference in the internal affairs of the United States. However, the intensity of the division within the Democratic party for compromise reflected itself in

the fact that many Wilsonians praised the former British Ambassador for his daring effort. The other main sources of criticism were from the Hearst press, the Irish, and the other traditional Anglophobes.<sup>26</sup>

Wilson's reaction was one of tremendous anger. However the powers still influential with Wilson were able to convince the President that he would not enhance his political position by releasing a prepared statement that caustically criticized the elder but highly respected British statesman—a man whom Wilson only a few months previous had thanked publicly for his moral leadership which had meant so much to the American President. As to the letter, Wilson officially handled it with silent contempt. Behind the scenes, the President instructed the Secretary of State to determine if the Allied leaders had openly sanctioned the letter as stated in many newspapers. The British and French leaders were on safe grounds in their approach to mediate the American dilemma and their retreat from Wilson's hostility was safe in the negative replies they gave to Lansing on this episode. But the replies were generally worded so as to say in essence the same thing which Grey had said—please join the League.<sup>27</sup>

Grey's efforts and all other pressures failed to budge the President from his uncompromising position. When the Treaty came up for its second and final vote in March 1920, Wilson was able to keep enough Democrats loyal to him to prevent the adoption of the Peace Treaty with reservations—it failed by only seven votes.

Viscount Grey had sought to alter the destinies of two hemispheres. To him the stakes were high as failure would almost surely mean another major war as he stated publicly time and again. It was a sad anti-climax to a man whose spirit, ideas, and actions had so influenced the United States into becoming league conscious. In the end, not even Grey's enormous capacity for statesmanship could awaken President Wilson's sensitivity to bow before the will of mass acceptance of compromise. With this failure died also the last major hope that the Allies could help the Americans out of their political morass.

<sup>26</sup> *New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1920; *Times*, Feb. 3, Mar. 8, 1920.

<sup>27</sup> Wilson Papers, II, Box 167; Lansing Papers, V, 51.

# SIDELIGHTS

## THE HUNDREDS OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

By LOUISE JOYNER HIENTON

IN 1696, at the time of the establishment of Prince George's County, there were two geographical divisions within the counties of Maryland, the hundreds and the parishes, which were completely independent of each other. The parishes were self-governing units for the supervision of the churches, large enough to support a minister, and were laid out under the direction of the General Assembly of the province. The new Prince George's County was composed of two of the original thirty parishes which had been established four years earlier, St. Paul's Parish formerly in Calvert County and Piscataway Parish which had been part of Charles County. The hundreds, however, were laid out by the justices of the county court and were of whatever size these officials deemed proper and convenient. These hundreds remained under the control of the county officers; they were not self-governing but were units designed to make political administration within the county more efficient.

The hundred was an old division of an English county dating from Anglo-Saxon times. The origin of the term is lost in antiquity, but it probably received its name from the organization around royal estates of districts rated at a hundred taxable units. Through the centuries the hundred came to be used not only for tax purposes, but also for the administration of matters of justice, law, police and military defense.<sup>1</sup>

Since it was natural for the colonizers of Maryland to bring with them the plan of government to which they had been accustomed in England, it is not surprising to find hundreds mentioned in the early provincial records as divisions of the first county. The Rent Rolls were set up by divisions of hundreds in each county. And until 1654, when the number of counties was sufficient to warrant the change, burgesses were elected to the General Assembly from the hundreds, the freeholders being called together for an election by the constable of the hundred.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Helen Maud Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls*, (New York, 1960), p. xiii, and Helen Maud Cam, "Hundred," *Chambers's Encyclopedia*, New Edition.

<sup>2</sup> William H. Browne, et al., eds., *The Archives of Maryland* (70 vols. to date, Baltimore, 1883 ---), I, pp. 2, 74, and 339 (hereafter cited as *Arch. Md.*); Rent Rolls, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

For many years the constable was the only officer of the hundred. He was the person appointed within his hundred to see that the peace was kept; to raise a hue and cry against escaped felons and fugitive servants; to make a list of the taxables for the annual levy; and to execute precepts and warrants directed to him. Certain fees were allowed him. After the law was passed in 1723 concerning the suppression of tumultuous meetings of Negroes, the constables of such hundreds as were designated received 500 pounds of tobacco yearly from the county levy for this service. If a person was appointed constable and refused to serve, he was subject to a fine of 500 pounds of tobacco or two months imprisonment.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning in 1666, the county justices were instructed by an Act of the Assembly to appoint overseers of the highways. As the title suggests, these men looked after clearing and maintaining the roads, although the actual work of grubbing, clearing and marking was done by the taxables, the servants and slaves who were furnished by the heads of houses in the neighborhood. There was no remuneration attached to the office of overseer, but those appointed were subject to a fine of 2000 pounds of tobacco, reduced to 500 pounds in 1699, for the nonperformance of duties. The county justices were not required to appoint these officers to hundreds, but in some of the counties, including Prince George's, they did so.<sup>4</sup>

Beginning in 1678 two pressmasters were appointed in each hundred. In 1692 this number was reduced to one pressmaster in each hundred. During the next few years, when the settlers were menaced by the Indians, the pressmaster was a much-needed officer, as he had the power to impress food and other specified items upon a warrant from the governor. He was subject to a forfeiture of 500 pounds of tobacco for refusal or neglect of duty. After troubles with the Indians had died down, it was thought that fewer pressmasters were needed; accordingly, beginning in 1699, only two pressmasters were appointed for the whole county, and the practice of appointing one for each hundred was discontinued. However, in Prince George's County, this change was not made until 1711.<sup>5</sup>

When Prince George's County was erected, it included all that part of Maryland lying between the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers,

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Md.*, I, pp. 410-11; II, p. 538; XXII, pp. 514-15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 134; XXII, pp. 475-6. Of the eleven counties of Maryland in 1696, the county courts of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Cecil, Kent, Prince George's and Somerset counties appointed the overseers of the highways to hundreds; in Dorchester County they were appointed to specific roads; in Charles County the constables were required to appoint the overseers; perhaps this same procedure was used in Talbot County, as I can find no mention of overseers in the court records; the early records of Calvert and St. Mary's have not survived.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 53-60; XIII, pp. 554-559; XXII, pp. 562-570.

extending from Mattawoman and Swansons Creeks on the south to the Pennsylvania line on the north, thus comprising the area which today constitutes the District of Columbia, Montgomery, Frederick, Washington, Allegany and Garrett counties, the north-west half of Carroll County, and that part of Charles County lying north of Mattawoman Creek, as well as the present Prince George's County. This was a vast but sparsely settled region, with habitation in 1696 extending only from the southern boundary of the county to just north of the Eastern Branch of the Potomac River on the western side of the county and to the forks of the Patuxent on the eastern side.

At the initial meeting of Prince George's County court, April 23, 1696, the first item of business was to designate that the inhabited part of the county should be divided into six hundreds, with a constable, an overseer of the highways, and a pressmaster appointed for each hundred. From Swansons Creek to Mattapany Branch was called Mattapany Hundred; from Mattapany Branch to the Western Branch of the Patuxent River was designated Mount Calvert Hundred; between the Western Branch and Collington Branch was known as Collington Hundred; between Collington Branch and the Patuxent River was called Patuxent Hundred; from Mattawoman Creek to Oxon Run was designated Piscataway Hundred; and from Oxon Run to the falls of the Potomac River was called New Scotland Hundred.<sup>6</sup> No other boundaries were mentioned in the records; it was taken for granted that the Potomac River bordered Piscataway and New Scotland hundreds on the west, the Patuxent River bordered Mattapany and Mount Calvert hundreds on the east, and the inner boundary of these four hundreds was the ridge which divided the waters of the Potomac from those flowing into the Patuxent. The northern limit of Collington and Patuxent Hundreds was presumed to be the limit of habitation (see Fig. 1). Of these six hundreds designated by the Prince George's County court only two were new, Collington and Patuxent Hundreds. Mount Calvert and Mattapany had been hundreds of Calvert County, Mount Calvert dating from 1650 and Mattapany pre-dating 1688, while Piscataway and New Scotland had been hundreds of Charles County, dating from 1688 and 1689 respectively.<sup>7</sup>

As the population of Prince George's County grew and habitation spread northward, new hundreds were formed, either by division of the existing hundreds or by addition of new ones. The first

<sup>6</sup> Prince George's County Court Records, Liber A, folios 6-7, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

<sup>7</sup> Rent Rolls, Liber O, St. Mary's and Charles Calvert counties and Isle of Kent, f. 72; *Arch. Md.*, XIII, p. 219; Charles County Court and Land Records, Lib. N No. 1, f. 323; Lib. P No. 1, f. 182, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

change was made at the November court, 1707. The records do not give the population of the county, only the number of taxables. Taxables were free white males 16 years and over, male servants 16 years and over, and slaves of both sexes 16 years and over, except clergymen and paupers. The taxables of Prince George's County, which had numbered 658 in 1696, had increased to 1,512 by 1707. The first division affected Mount Calvert Hundred, which was divided at Cabin Branch, a tributary of the Western Branch of the Patuxent River. The lower part retained the name of Mount Calvert Hundred, while the upper part was called Western Branch Hundred.<sup>8</sup>

Eight years later, in August, 1715, when the number of taxables in the county had increased to 1,990, a new hundred was added on the north side of the Eastern Branch of the Potomac River and was called Rock Creek Hundred.<sup>9</sup> This reduced New Scotland Hundred to the area between the Eastern Branch and Oxon Run. By 1722 habitation had spread northward to such an extent that Rock Creek Hundred was now partitioned into three parts and two new hundreds were created, Potomac and Eastern Branch. Potomac Hundred included all the land lying beyond Rock Creek; Eastern Branch Hundred lay between the Northeast and Northwest Branches of the Eastern Branch of the Potomac River; while the area between the Northwest Branch and Rock Creek retained the name of Rock Creek Hundred.<sup>10</sup>

Six years later, at the November county court, 1728, Monocacy Hundred was erected, including all the land above Seneca Creek.<sup>11</sup> The population of this newest hundred grew so rapidly that within a few years it was divided into four precincts: "from Shannandore Mountain Upwards one part, Other part, from Mouth of Seneca to Mouth Monocousy, from Mouth of Monocousy to the Shannandore." But it was not until November, 1739, when the taxables in the county had increased to 4,858, that two new hundreds, Antietam and Conococheague, were erected from the two precincts beyond the Shenandoah Mountain. The boundaries of Antietam Hundred were "from Potomack River & y<sup>e</sup> Mill Road to y<sup>e</sup> Mill, Then by y<sup>e</sup> Waggon Road y<sup>e</sup> comes by John Stulls to Monocousy." Conococheague Hundred extended northward from Antietam Hundred to the dividing line between the two provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> PGCo. Court Rec., Lib. C, f. 178, 186a; *Arch. Md.*, XXV, p. 255.

<sup>9</sup> PGCo. Court Rec., Lib. G, f. 786; Lib. H, f. 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. K, f. 649.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. O, f. 341.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. W, f. 239; Lib. X, f. 505.

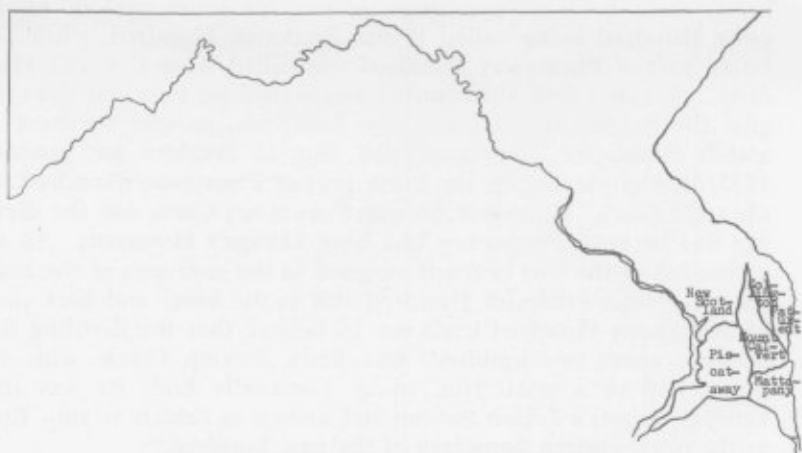


Fig. 1 - Hundreds of Prince George's County in 1696.

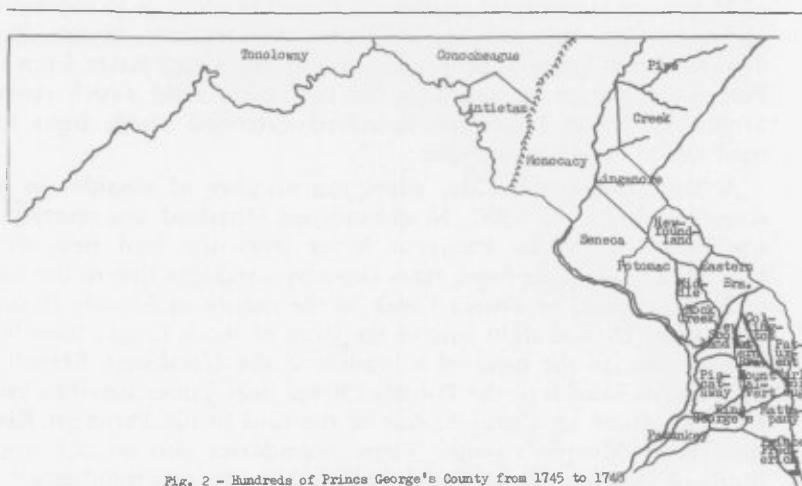


Fig. 2 - Hundreds of Prince George's County from 1745 to 1748

Author's drawings.

As early as 1731 both Mattapany and Piscataway Hundreds had been divided into upper and lower precincts. Ten years later, in 1741, when the number of taxables in the county had reached 5,017, these divisions were given names, the lower part of Mattapany Hundred being called Prince Frederick Hundred, while the lower part of Piscataway Hundred was called King George's Hundred. Unfortunately, the county court record for that year does not give the boundaries of these new hundreds, so that we have to search elsewhere. The constables' lists of taxables for January, 1733/34, include one for the lower part of Piscataway Hundred "as the runn Goe's," an indication that Piscataway Creek was the dividing line between Piscataway and King George's Hundreds. An examination of the lists of roads assigned to the overseers of the highways in Prince Frederick Hundred and in the lower and back parts of Mattapany Hundred leads one to believe that the dividing line between these two hundreds was Black Swamp Creek, with the upper end of a small run, which eventually finds its way into Charles County's Zekiah Swamp and known as Zekiah Swamp Run, as the northwestern boundary of the new hundred.<sup>13</sup>

Also in 1741, Linganore and Seneca Hundreds were carved out of Monocacy Hundred.<sup>14</sup> Again the record is silent as to the matter of boundaries, but, judging from later delineations, Seneca Hundred extended between Seneca Creek and Monocacy River from the Potomac River as far north as the new main road which crossed Monocacy; while Linganore Hundred extended north from that road to the Pennsylvania line.

At the June court, 1744, when the number of taxables in the county had reached 5,957, Newfoundland Hundred was erected. It was bounded by the Patuxent River from the ford near Peter Murphy's land to the head, from there by a straight line to the head of Seneca Creek, by Seneca Creek to the mouth of Muddy Branch, from there by a straight line to the head of Rock Creek, then by a straight line to the head of a branch of the Northwest Branch of the Eastern Branch of the Potomac River near James Brooke's land, and from there by a straight line to the ford in the Patuxent River near Peter Murphy's land. These boundaries also set the upper limits of Potomac, Rock Creek and Eastern Branch hundreds.<sup>15</sup>

Five months later, at the November court, 1744, it was ordered that the Town of Upper Marlborough should be one of the hun-

<sup>13</sup> Black Books, II, 118, and Prince George's County Levy Books, Liber A, folio 262, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. d.; PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. LL, f. 76.

<sup>14</sup> PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. Z, f. 473.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. CC, f. 399-400; *Arch. Md.*, XXXVI, p. 598; PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. A, f. 399.



dreds, called Marlborough Hundred. At the same time a constable was appointed for Tonoloway Hundred, presumably the area at the far western end of the county beyond Tonoloway Creek.<sup>16</sup> The upper part of the county expanded so rapidly that four months later, in March, 1745, Linganore Hundred was divided as follows: "begining at the Mouth of Linganore Creek and runing thence up the said Creek to the main Road Which leads from Monocousie to Annapolis and from that Road with a Streight line to the Mouth of Pipe Creek, from thence runing up Monocousie to the Pensilvania line and so Including all the Inhabitants of the Two pipe Creeks and Linganore," which newly erected hundred was to be called Pipe Creek Hundred.<sup>17</sup>

Eight months later, at the November court, 1745, when the taxables in the county numbered 6,210, Rock Creek Hundred was divided, "To begin at Samuel Bealls Mill So with the Road to Mr George Scotts Quarter Exclusive of said Quarter then Down the Said Scotts Spring Branch to Rock creek." This new hundred was called Middle Hundred.<sup>18</sup>

At this same session of the court, King George's Hundred was divided at the Piscataway-Port Tobacco Road from Mattawoman Creek to Piscataway Creek. The upper part retained the name of King George's Hundred, while the lower part was called Pamunkey Hundred. At the next court session a slight change was made in the dividing line, so that this boundary was designated as the Piscataway-Port Tobacco Road from Mattawoman Creek to the Old Indian Fork Branch and then up this branch to Piscataway Creek.<sup>19</sup> With this division, the hundreds in Prince George's County had reached their greatest number, and represented an increase from the original six in 1696 to 23 in 1745 (see Fig. 2).

By 1748 the number of taxables in the county had reached 6,624, over ten times the number there had been when the county was erected, and therefore the General Assembly of the province deemed it time to divide the county. And at its May-June session two acts were passed which affected Prince George's County. One was entitled "An Act for taking off Part of Prince George's County, and Adding it to Charles County," and the other "An Act to divide Prince George's County, and to erect a new one by the Name of Frederick County." The first act stated that from December 10, 1748 the land bounded "by a Line drawn from Mattawoman Run in the Road commonly called the Rolling Road, that leads from

<sup>16</sup> PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. CC, f. 599, 600.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. DD, f. 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 282; PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. A, f. 457.

<sup>19</sup> PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. DD, f. 282, 407.

the late Dwelling Plantation of Mr. Edward Neale through the lower Part of Mr. Peter Dent's Dwelling Plantation, until it strikes Potomack River, at or near the bounded Tree of a Tract of Land whereon John Beall Junior now lives (standing on the Bank of the aforesaid River at the lower End of the aforesaid Beall's Plantation) then with the River to the Mouth of Mattawoman Creek" should become part of Charles County. The second act directed that from the same date, December 10, 1748, the new Frederick County was to be erected, with the dividing line "Beginning at the lower Side of the Mouth of Rock Creek, and thence by a strait Line joining at the East Side of Seth Hyat's Plantation to Patuxent River."<sup>20</sup>

Except for the land to be given later to the Federal Government for the District of Columbia, Prince George's County was now reduced to its present size with a consequent reduction in the number of hundreds. Anticipating the loss of the county's southwest corner to Charles County, Pamunkey Hundred had been taken into King George's Hundred in November;<sup>21</sup> Frederick County encompassed the upper ten hundreds; so that on December 10, 1748, Prince George's County was left with twelve hundreds (see Fig. 3). But even though it had lost its frontier land which was enticing to new settlers, the population of Prince George's County continued to grow, so that it was necessary from time to time to reduce the area of the existing hundreds and continue to create new ones. In 1761 the town of Bladensburgh was designated a hundred.<sup>22</sup> And beginning in 1763 Marlborough Hundred became known as Upper Marlborough Hundred.<sup>23</sup>

By 1768 the number of taxables in the county had increased from 3,902, the number left in Prince George's County in 1749 after the division of the county, to 5,569 and two new hundreds were created. Horsepen Hundred was formed from the upper parts of Collington and Patuxent Hundreds, the dividing line being the main road from the Governor's bridge to Bladensburgh as far as the Muddy Hole bridge, while Mount Calvert Hundred was divided at Charles Branch; the upper part was called Charlotte Hundred, while the lower part retained the name of Mount Calvert Hundred.<sup>24</sup> And In 1772 the town of Nottingham was designated a hundred.<sup>25</sup> By 1773 the number of taxables in the county had in-

<sup>20</sup> PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. A, f. 550; *Arch. Md.*, XLVI, pp. 140-144.

<sup>21</sup> PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. KK, f. 34.

<sup>22</sup> PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. B, f. 16.

<sup>23</sup> PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. VV, f. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. AA No. 1, f. 106; PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. A, f. 565; Lib. B, f. 141.

<sup>25</sup> PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. CC No. 1, f. 312.

creased to 6,108. In that year Piscataway Hundred was divided, the part on the north side of the road leading from Broad Creek Church to Benjamin Moore's plantation being known as Hynson Hundred, the part south of the road retaining the name of Piscataway Hundred.<sup>26</sup>

Two years later, in November, 1775, when the number of taxables in the county had increased to 6,290, New Scotland Hundred was divided, the dividing line running from the Eastern Branch to Beaver Dam Branch, then to the mouth of Cabin Branch and with that branch to the main road leading to Upper Marlborough through Benjamin Berry's plantation as far as the end of the parish. The upper part retained the name of New Scotland Hundred, while the lower part was called Oxon Hundred.<sup>27</sup>

In the following November, even though the number of taxables in the county had dropped to 6,233, a new hundred was created. Mount Calvert Hundred was now divided starting from the mouth of the Southwest Branch of Charles Branch near Mrs. Clagett's and running up the branch so as to include Col. Joseph Sims and Matthew Eversfield's plantation in Mount Calvert Hundred and continuing so as to strike Mattapany Branch at the lower part of Capt. Leonard Brooke's plantation. The eastern part retained the name of Mount Calvert Hundred, while the western part was called Grubb Hundred.<sup>28</sup>

Maryland's Declaration of Rights and Constitution of 1776, which brought about a shift from provincial to state government, also brought changes which eventually eliminated the hundreds. These changes were made step by step, so that at first no difference was felt. Constables and overseers of the highways were appointed each year as usual by the county court, but from time to time laws were passed which gradually curtailed the functions of the hundreds. We can follow the number of taxables in the county no longer, for beginning in 1777 tax assessments were made on the value of the real and personal property of the head of a house, rather than on the number of his taxables.<sup>29</sup>

Still, at the November court, 1777 Mattapany Hundred was divided into two parts; the upper part retained the name of Mattapany Hundred and the lower part was called Washington Hundred. The dividing line began at the mouth of Spicers Creek and followed the creek and branch to its head near William Sasscer's plantation, then ran to the main road, leaving Sasscer's plantation in Mattapany Hundred, and followed the main road which led

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. DD No. 1, f. 119; PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. B, f. 221.

<sup>27</sup> PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. B, f. 246; PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. EE No. 1, f. 432.

<sup>28</sup> PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. B, f. 256; PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. EE No. 1, f. 605.

<sup>29</sup> PGCo. Levy Books, Lib. B, f. 272.

from St. Paul's Church to Mattawoman Branch, and on to King George's Hundred (see Fig. 4).<sup>30</sup>

In 1782 the General Assembly of the state now directed that five commissioners of the tax be appointed in each county, and in 1785 these commissioners of the tax were instructed to divide the county into from two to ten districts, with either two large or three small hundreds in each district. The assessment lists of 1793-94 for personal property and of 1796 for real and personal property, the earliest available subsequent to this law, show that Prince George's County was divided into eight districts, with the hundreds combined as follows: Upper Marlborough, Charlotte and Mount Calvert; Mattapany, Washington and Prince Frederick, with lots in Nottingham also included; King George and Grubb; Piscataway and Hynson; New Scotland, Oxon and Bladensburgh; Horsepen and Patuxent; Rock Creek and Eastern Branch; Collington and Western Branch.<sup>31</sup>

In 1791 the states of Maryland and Virginia provided the territory which became the District of Columbia. While some of this ten mile square area came from Virginia, and from Montgomery County, Prince George's County furnished the largest segment. However, Congress in accepting the grant decreed that until it should take up residence in Washington, Maryland law should prevail in the territory ceded by Maryland. Consequently for the next nine years Prince George's County continued to exercise authority over the portion of the District formerly included within its bounds.<sup>32</sup>

In 1794 a law was passed in the State of Maryland relating to public roads. This law gave the justices of the levy court authority to appoint supervisors of the public roads, no longer called overseers of the highways, in such divisions or districts as should be designated. At the meeting of the levy court of Prince George's County on April 21, 1795, the county was laid off into seventeen numbered districts, and supervisors of the public roads were appointed for these new districts. Nottingham and Mattapany hundreds formed the First District; Mount Calvert became the Second District; Prince Frederick Hundred the Third District; King George Hundred the Fourth District; Piscataway Hundred the Fifth District; Charlotte and Upper Marlborough Hundreds together formed the Sixth District; Oxon Hundred the Seventh

<sup>30</sup> PGCo. Ct. Rec., Lib. EE No. 2, f. 38-9.

<sup>31</sup> Assessment Lists, Prince George's County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

<sup>32</sup> Kilty's *Laws of Maryland, 1791*, Chap. 45; *United States Statutes at Large*, First Congress, Sess. II, Ch. XXVIII, Sec. 1, 1790; Sixth Congress, Sess. II, Ch. XV, Sec. 2, 1801. Also cited in Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington Village and Capital 1800-1878* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1962), pp. 12, 26-27.



Fig. 3 - Hundreds of Prince George's County on Dec. 10, 1748.



Fig. 4 - Hundreds of Prince George's County from 1777 to 1796.



Fig. 5 - Hundreds of Prince George's County from 1796 to 1800



Fig. 6 - Hundreds of Prince George's County from 1800 to 1843.

Author's drawings.

District; Hynson Hundred the Eighth District; Western Branch Hundred the Ninth District; Collington Hundred the Tenth District; Horsepen Hundred the Eleventh District; New Scotland and Bladensburgh Hundreds were combined to form the Twelfth District; Rock Creek Hundred became the Thirteenth District; Eastern Branch Hundred became the Fourteenth District; Patuxent Hundred the Fifteenth District; Washington Hundred the Sixteenth District; and finally Grubb Hundred was designated the Seventeenth District.<sup>33</sup>

The following year, on May 3, 1796, the levy court of Prince George's County did two surprising things. It created a new hundred within the District of Columbia, called Columbia Hundred, which included the area between Tiber or Goose Creek, the Bladensburgh-Washington Road and the Eastern Branch, so that there were now twenty-one hundreds in the county (see Fig. 5). And it reverted to the practice of appointing supervisors of roads to the hundreds or parts of hundreds, disregarding entirely the numbered districts established the year before.<sup>34</sup>

Two years later, in 1798, a state law was passed, which was confirmed and enlarged upon in 1799, whereby the counties were to be laid off in election districts in the following year. In April, 1800 the boundaries of the five election districts in Prince George's County were reported by the commissioners.<sup>35</sup> This was the new unit destined to supplant the hundred. The question which comes to mind is: why did the state find it necessary to create this new geographical division within the counties? It is true that there were too many hundreds in the counties for voting purposes, but the hundreds could have been combined for this purpose just as they were combined several years earlier for tax assessment purposes. No doubt the term *hundred* had a feudal connotation which was displeasing to the citizens of Maryland, whereas *election district* was considered a satisfactory term to express their spirit of independence.

In 1800 Congress now took over the District of Columbia, and Prince George's County was reduced to its present size (see Fig. 6). The assessment lists after 1800 no longer included the area now in the District of Columbia, and the levy court no longer appointed a constable for Columbia Hundred.

In 1812 a state law was passed whereby one or more tax assessors

<sup>33</sup> *Kilty's Laws of Maryland, 1794*, Chap. 52; Prince George's County Levy Court Records, Liber 1795-1818, folio 2, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

<sup>34</sup> PGCo. Levy Ct. Rec., Lib. 1795-1818, f. 31.

<sup>35</sup> *Kilty's Laws of Maryland, 1798*, Ch. 115; 1799, Ch. 48, 50; Prince George's County Land Records, Lib. J.R.M. No. 8, 208-11, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

were to be appointed in each election district.<sup>36</sup> However Prince George's County resisted this change. The assessment lists show that the tax assessors went on assessing by hundreds, using the districts formed by the combination of hundreds set up in 1785. Later in December, 1824, a state law was passed which directed the justices of the levy courts in the several counties of the state to appoint constables for the election districts instead of for the hundreds, since "the boundaries of hundreds throughout this state, by vacating old roads, opening new ones, and other causes are, in a great measure obliterated and forgotten." There is a gap in the records of the Levy Court of Prince George's County between 1818 and 1837, so that we cannot be sure that Prince George's County made this change in 1825. But by 1837 appointments of constables were made for the election districts.<sup>37</sup>

An examination of such records as exist indicates that use of the hundreds had now terminated in the other counties of the state in compliance with the law of 1824. But this was not true in Prince George's County. The tax assessors of this county continued to use the hundreds for assessment lists and the levy court continued to appoint supervisors of the public roads to hundreds. Finally in 1831 a state law was passed entitled "An Act for the revaluation and reassessment of the Real and Personal Property in Prince George's County." A similar, but more detailed, act was passed again in 1832. Prince George's County had to conform. The assessment lists of 1832 were made up for the first time by election districts.<sup>38</sup>

But for another sixteen years the levy court continued to appoint supervisors of the public roads to hundreds or parts of hundreds. However in January, 1847, a state law was passed which altered the road system in Prince George's County. While the act did not mention the appointment of supervisors, it no doubt brought about a review of all phases of administration of the county road system, as in May, 1848, the supervisors of the roads were appointed at last to election districts.<sup>39</sup> Fifty years after the law was passed which established the election districts, Prince George's County put them into full operation. This change marked the final passing of the hundreds in Prince George's County. This ancient unit, which had satisfactorily filled a need during colonial days and the transition period, had given way in Maryland to a modern unit with a name which acceptably expressed the feeling of citizenship in the young Republic.

<sup>36</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1812*, Chap. 191, Sec. 5.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1824, Chap. 140; PGCo. Levy Court Rec., Lib. 1837-1853, f. 24.

<sup>38</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1831*, Chap. 280; 1832, Chap. 257.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 1846, Chap. 30; PGCo. Levy Court Rec., Lib. 1837-1853, f. 378-80.

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by P. WILLIAM FILBY

## THE DUNLAP *Declaration of Independence*

Following the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, John Dunlap, one of the official printers to the Continental Congress, set it in type. It was corrected, reset, and printed overnight and then sent out by John Hancock on July 5. The exact number of copies printed by Dunlap in his shop on the south side of Market Street, Philadelphia, is unknown, but it seems likely that there were about 200.

The title of the broadside, which measures  $21 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$  inches (American Philosophical Society copy), is:

In Congress, July 4, 1776 / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America. / In General Congress Assembled.

There follow the Declaration terms, and the whole is concluded:

*Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary. / [rule] / Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap.*

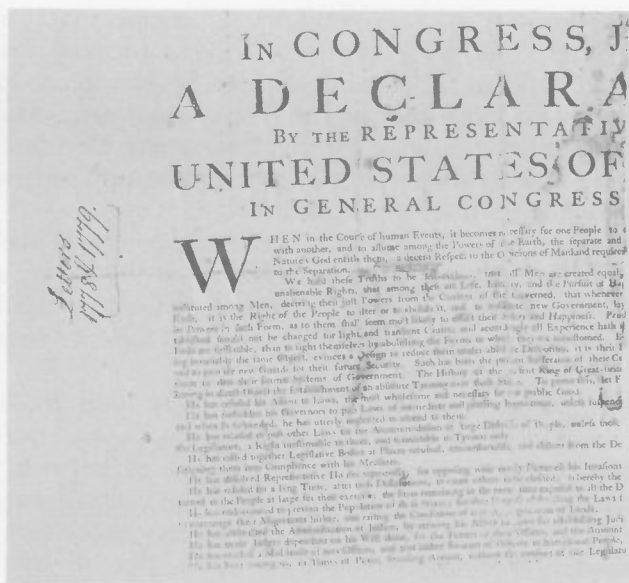
The names of the signers do not appear.

In almost 200 years the presumed 200 copies printed have dwindled to 17 copies known to be in existence. As at January 1969 there were 16 known copies, held by the following:

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; The Library of Congress (which also holds George Washington's copy, lacking the lower third); the National Archives; Massachusetts Historical Society; New-York Historical Society; New York Public Library; the Public Record Office, London (two copies); the Lilly Library, Indiana University; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; Yale University Library; Princeton University (Scheide Library copy on deposit)—in a variant setting; and imperfect copies at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Independence Hall; and the Alderman Library, University of Virginia. (There may be still another copy in private ownership in Philadelphia.)

Early in January 1969, Joseph Molloy, a bookman, was cataloguing the huge stock of Leary's Book Store, Philadelphia, for





The fragment of the Declaration of Independence found in the Society's collections. Photograph.  
*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

the auction attendant on Leary's liquidation scheduled for January 14. In a scrapbook he found an envelope containing a copy of the Dunlap *Declaration*. It was a good, tall copy and it was ultimately sold for \$404,000 at the Freeman auction sale held in May 1969. The figure thus realized is the record for any one piece of printing, whether broadside, book, or set.

The éclat of this discovery was still echoing through the book world when, in February 1969, Miss Ellen Lee Barker, now Curator of the Society's Manuscripts Division, was engaged in the routine task of sorting and indexing the Ridgely Family Papers (MS. 1127). In the course of these humdrum labors she examined a bundle of Captain Charles Ridgely's papers enclosed in a wrapper labeled in Ridgely's hand, "Bonds and Notes from 1765 to 1775." When unfolded and reversed the wrapper proved itself a costly one indeed. It was in fact the top left quarter of the Dunlap *Declaration*, measuring 10½ by 10 inches. A search through the rest of the Ridgely papers—perhaps as painstaking and frenetic as any in recent history—yielded nothing more. With mingled regret and frus-

tration the Society has been obliged to assume that Captain Ridgely (1733-1790), a member of the Constitutional Convention of Maryland in 1776, and builder of Hampton House, simply threw the remainder of the *Declaration* away—after all, he did not need such a large sheet for wrapping his bonds and notes! The fragment he kept for housekeeping purposes is shown in the accompanying illustration.

Not all suspense ended here, for it was known that the University of Virginia's copy lacked the upper left quarter. A Xerox of our quarter was hastily mailed to Charlottesville for comparison; but the two failed to match, and another hope was dashed.

One question remained: Does the Society hold the seventeenth known copy (imperfect) of the Dunlap *Declaration* or does it have merely a piece of old wrapping paper with printing on the back? Metaphysicians might endlessly debate this question of part versus whole; but the Society chose to resolve it by recourse to unimpeachable authority, that of Dr. Frederick R. Goff, Rare Book Librarian of The Library of Congress and President of the Bibliographical Society of America. The welcome decision of this one-man Supreme Court of bibliography is that the Society indeed has a copy (imperfect) of the Dunlap *Declaration*. Our quarter will be so recorded by bibliographers yet unborn. Thanks to Dr. Goff's ukase, some of the sting has now been taken from Captain Ridgely's unpardonable preoccupation with his business records.

The deficiencies of the Society's Philadelphia imprint, however, are more than made up in its perfect copy of the first Maryland issue of the *Declaration*, which is, moreover, the first official issue to contain the printed names of the signers. It is a broadside done in Baltimore in 1777 by Mary Katharine Goddard for the use of the session of the Continental Congress that met in Baltimore in that year. Only seven other copies are located by Mr. Wheeler;<sup>1</sup> only two of them in Maryland. The provenance of the Society's copy is not known, though it seems clear that it has been in our possession a long time.

Maryland Historical Society

P. WILLIAM FILBY  
EDWARD G. HOWARD

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Towne Wheeler, *The Maryland Press 1777-1790* (Baltimore, 1938) where a full description is given under item 29.

# NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

By ELLEN LEE BARKER, Curator of Manuscripts

UNLESS effective restoration measures are promptly taken, the Maryland State Colonization Society Papers (MS. 571) will not be available for use—nor will there be any copies available for use—in another ten years. The letter-books are rotting, the minute books are crumbling, and most bindings are more of a hindrance to their contents than a protection.

To say that these records are historically important would be understating the fact. The Maryland State Colonization Society broke off from its parent organization, the American Colonization Society, in 1831, largely due to the efforts of Charles Harper and John Latrobe. Feeling that the colonization movement had been ineffective, these men, along with other interested Marylanders, hoped to build a more vigorous movement to remove the state's free colored population, via chartered vessels, to Liberia. (Aaron Stopak provides an interesting insight into the history of the Colonization Society in the September, 1968 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.)

In 1877, Dr. James Hall, agent and business manager of the Society and editor of the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, considered the papers of the organization important enough to donate them to the Maryland Historical Society, and the Society was not slow in accepting them. The papers were carefully boxed and stored until John H. B. Latrobe, in 1885, based his "Maryland In Liberia" on his research of the collection. He said then that "the material has not by any means been exhausted." Yet until 1937, this was the only attempt to make use of the vast collection of letters, financial and legal records, newspapers, and pamphlets. The papers still sat in the original cartons and in the original case. However, in 1937, Dr. William D. Hoyt, Jr. analyzed, arranged, and calendared the papers, making a collection that was orderly and useable. He notes in his calendar (found in volume 32 of the *Maryland Historical*

*Magazine*) that some of the bound volumes of letters "are less well preserved, and are more difficult to consult (than others)." This was more than thirty years ago. Since then, demands for the papers have increased and markedly so since 1968 when the Maryland Historical Society published a guide to its manuscripts collections.

From this publicity and by word of mouth, the popularity of the collection has grown so that graduate students and professors come to the Society's manuscript room to use the papers. But black studies is now hardly more than a matter of semantics. We can be assured that Negro history is a growing movement that will make the largest claims yet on the Colonization Society material. We should therefore make the collection more useful.

But in its present condition, it can't be more useful; previous handling has had its effect. The unintentional damage to brittle paper, to loose bindings, to pasted edges, and to loose items is irreparable. While the subject has not yet neared exhaustion, further attempts to make use of the papers is destructive, and in this sense the collection *is* exhausted. Restoration experts have said so, and any untrained eye will quickly agree. Photocopying is impossible because of binding and, worse, pasting.

The estimated cost for restoration and photoduplication of *parts of the collection* is a minimum of \$8,000. The maximum cost is \$30,000 for treatment of the entire collection. Funds are urgently needed for this project, and the Maryland Historical Society will appreciate information as to likely sources.

# GENEALOGICAL NOTES

By MARY K. MEYER

One of the more frequent inquiries we receive at the Maryland Historical Society Library is one regarding ships' passenger lists of the various ports of entry in Maryland. Unfortunately, ships' passenger lists for all ports of Maryland, showing all the immigrants into the state, just do not exist. The task of finding when one's ancestor arrived, how he arrived and from where he came is not an easy one. It takes time and a great deal of effort and as often as not the search proves fruitless.

The search is complicated by one of the more common assumptions that all immigrants into the province arrived through the Port of Baltimore. Baltimore City did not exist until 1729, and immigrants had been arriving in the province since 1634—a period of almost 100 years. Prior to the founding of Baltimore, ships discharged their passengers in old St. Mary's City, Annapolis, Old Joppatowne, ports on the Patuxent River, and Chesapeake Bay ports on the Eastern Shore. Now Old St. Mary's City and old Joppatowne have completely disappeared.

From 1634 to 1680 the Lords Baltimore granted a certain amount of land to each person who immigrated into the colony and also to every person for whom he paid passage. In order to claim this land, the immigrant made application to the secretary of the Province, stating the fact he had immigrated and stating the names of persons whose passage he had paid. On occasion the application stated the name of the ship on which he arrived; more often it did not. The names of these immigrants have been published in *Early Settlers of Maryland* by Gust Skordas in 1968. The reader, however, should bear in mind that this is not a ships' passenger lists, only a list of immigrants, for many of these persons entered the Province from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and even a few from New England.

The primary source of information to be consulted on the subject of ships' passenger lists is Harold Lancour's, *A Bibliog-*

*raphy of Ship's Passenger Lists, 1538-1825*. This book has been revised and enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe and is now in its third edition. It was published by the New York City Public Library in 1963. We have seen many readers give this little book only a cursory glance and push it aside. One reason may be that they are looking at one of the earlier editions which was entitled, *Passenger Lists of Ships Coming to North America 1607-1825*, and readers expect to find lists of the names of all persons who came to the American colonies between those dates. It was because of this confusion that the title was changed with the printing of the third edition. The change in title, however, does not alter its value to the seeker of ships' passenger lists.

In this book there is found probably the most comprehensive bibliography of published passenger lists in existence. The researcher would do well to study the book thoroughly—not only under the heading of the state in which he is interested but the complete book, as many references refer to several different states. The search for one particular person on a passenger list is not a short-term project. Generally a number of sources must be searched, as many contain only a few names. It takes time and patience.

It would not be practical to list here a bibliography of all the printed sources for Maryland as they can be found in the above mentioned book, but we might point out that new books have appeared on the market since the Lancour *Bibliography* was revised, viz. Jack and Marian Kamenkow, *Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage From London to the American Colonies 1719-1744* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1967), Jack and Marian Kamenkow, *Emigrants from England to America 1718-1759* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1964), and Michael Ghirelli, *A List of Emigrants from England to America 1682-1692* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1968). Also available at the Hall of Records in Annapolis are two transcripts of records of convicted felons imported into Maryland. One of these transcripts is from the City of Baltimore, covering a period of 1770 to 1774 and 1783. The other transcript is from Anne Arundel County (Annapolis) records and covers the period 1771-1774.

(To be continued)

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*MARYLAND: A Students' Guide to Localized History.* By HAROLD R. MANAKEE, with an introduction by Clifford L. Lord. (New York City: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1969, Pp. 35, \$1.00.)

Harold Manakee's exciting booklet could just be the key that opens the door to rejuvenated interest among students in Maryland history. Many of us rightfully decry the decreasing attention given to local and state history in American schools. Manakee's booklet is a part of a series of about 100 small volumes published and edited by Teachers' College, Columbia University, and covering every state in the Union as well as important cities, watersheds and key ethnic groups in America. The entire series could reawaken interest in learning and respecting the people and land of our locale.

Mr. Manakee's booklet is divided into five chapters: Exploration and Settlement, Colonial Development, The Revolutionary War, Growing With the New Nation, A State Divided, The State Matures, and Modern Maryland. Each chapter presents a mini-history of the period—from three to six pages—chock full of interesting and important facts, cogently stated and tied together in scholarly fashion.

As Dr. Clifford L. Lord, general editor of the series and history professor at Hofstra University says to the student readers in his introduction to the Maryland booklet, and indeed to all volumes in the series, "(After reading the textual material) . . . do it yourself . . . find out a great deal not just about your community . . . but about the great drama of our country's transformation . . . visit the historical museums and (historical) sites . . . to gain more (firsthand) knowledge . . . read the important books in (Manakee's) bibliography." Dr. Lord then exhorts students to write their own local histories in a sort of detective fashion.

Mr. Manakee's booklet is replete with annotated bibliographies, including not only the classic works but the lesser known titles. Even more helpful for young students is the section in each chapter on "Objectives for Field Trips." Every corner of Maryland was literally overturned and the author has noted what can be seen at first-hand, its importance to local history, how to get there and the

days and hours the historical sites and museums are open to the public. These sections are gold mines for the young historiographers and nuggets for the more mature researchers and potential authors.

Teachers of history who too often have neglected or even ignored the study of Maryland now have no excuse such as their cry for a ready and scholarly compendium and syllabus. With Manakee's booklet beside them they can easily integrate into the American history course, at many points, the significance of Maryland events. If the curriculum permits, a one or two semester separate course on Maryland history could be planned.

Whether the integrated or separate treatment is used, the Manakee booklet should do much to bring about "activist teaching"—that which gets students to investigate the past and apply it to the present. Hopefully, this would create a greater respect for the past and a keener desire to create a brighter future.

Community College of Baltimore

HARRY BARD, President

*Reconstruction: The Ending of the Civil War.* By AVERY CRAVEN.  
(New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969. Pp. iv, 330.  
Notes, bibliography, index.)

More than a quarter of a century ago Avery O. Craven published a volume entitled *The Coming of the Civil War*, which was generally understood (despite Professor Craven's disclaimer in the introduction of his most recent work) to argue that the war was unnecessary, irrational, and, obviously, avoidable. Now, in his *Reconstruction: The Ending of the Civil War*, he seems to have concluded that not only the war, but reconstruction, too, was inevitable. The North (and the Republican party), he asserts, represented the "emerging modern world," while the South was tied to the past. Hence, the inevitability of both the war ("Men who had wholeheartedly accepted the steam engine could not tolerate disunion [p. 22]") and reconstruction ("It [the South] was holding back the modern world [p. 271]").

Despite a number of comments about the necessity for ending slavery and establishing legal equality, Craven views the "modern world" primarily in economic terms—technological advance, the growth of manufacturing, the nationalization of finance, and the integration of the rail system. These economic forces, of which the North was the "carrier," were gravely threatened by a politically potent South in the 1850's, a seceding South in the early 1860's, and



a rapidly "restored" South in the late 1860's and the 1870's. Only when the South (under the leadership of the old Whigs) came to terms with modern economic life was it possible for political reconstruction to be brought to an end. In other words, Craven's framework is classically Beardian—the Republican party, as the conscious agent of a unified northern industrial and finance capitalism, implemented a program carefully designed to protect and advance the interests of its economic overlords.

Indeed, most of Craven's approaches are equally dated. Although he mentions some recent writings, only Stanley Kutler's interpretations of the role of the judicial branch during reconstruction, Eric McKittrick's observations on the psychological needs of the victor, and some of C. Vann Woodward's views have been really incorporated into the body of Craven's work. The rest remain as thin veneers over a solid core of 1920's-1930's historical consensus—the "Lincoln-Johnson program" of reconstruction; the desire for revenge as a motivating factor in the formulation of reconstruction policy; the unconstitutionality (implied) of the Fourteenth Amendment; the folly (with some qualifications) of Negro suffrage; and the "radicalism" of congressional reconstruction ("As victors at the end of the war, northerners went as far as legality, human decency, and the traditions of their culture permitted, [p. 40]").

This is, thus, a disappointing book. Though short, it might have embodied the distillation of almost half a century of distinguished scholarship. It does not. Instead, it consists of twenty-five brief, traditionally constructed, chronologically arranged chapters containing most of the material commonly found in the more superficial narrative accounts of the period. It is, additionally, replete with minor errors. In the space of two pages (pp. 170-171), for instance, Senator Edgar Cowan is moved from Pennsylvania to Connecticut; Representative John A. Bingham is elevated to the Senate; and we are informed that the Joint Committee on Reconstruction presented its report in the spring of 1865, more than seven months before that committee was created. Moreover, it was not until my fourth attempt that I found a quotation accurately reproduced. The documentation is inadequate and conforms to no discernible pattern. It has, in short, many faults and no substantial virtues.

Let it be quickly and decently forgotten, for it is no measure of the capacity, the competence, the contribution—indeed, the greatness—of Avery Craven.

*George Washington: A Profile.* Edited by JAMES MORTON SMITH.  
(New York: Hill and Wang, 1969. Pp. xxx, 289 & notes, bibl.  
\$5.95.)

This volume, one of the "American Profiles" series edited by Aida DiPace Donald, brings together selections from the works of a dozen of the best recent commentators on the life, historiography, and mythology of the premier American patriot, general, and president. The essays include the writings of men whose work combines both scholarship and literary craftsmanship, such as Samuel Eliot Morison, James Thomas Flexner, Douglas Southall Freeman, and Daniel J. Boorstin.

What the essayists portray is not a man of genius or an originator of new ideas, but an ingenious and adaptable man with great integrity of character. It is in this, perhaps, that Washington becomes the embodiment of the American ideal. In such a collection there are of course contradictions; Morison describes a disciplined youth, Flexner an impetuous general. The reader must also expect, and he receives, a considerable amount of repetition since the selections were written to fit into other formats. Finally, a reviewer can always criticize the selection itself. For instance, why the two essays on the historiography and mythology of the hero? Surely they provide no "profile" of the general himself.

But all this is carping since the volume was not intended to be a definitive study but rather an introduction to its subject. It achieves its objectives well and, in its paperback edition, should prove to be a fine beginning for advanced high school or college survey course students to learn about a man who remains an enigma for most Americans. Utilizing both the text and editor Smith's fine bibliography, the general reader would do well to use this book as a start on his analysis of the American revolutionary era and of the man who contributed the most to its successful outcome.

*Bowling Green State University*

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

*Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery.* By BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN (Cleveland: Press of Case-Western Reserve University, 1969. Pp. xxi, 376. \$8.95.)

Recent books on Benjamin Lundy, Owen Lovejoy, Stephen P. Andrews and the Grimke Sisters have enriched the study of abolition and ante-bellum reform movements. Now a biography of

Lewis Tappan is published and a significant work it is. Tappan emerges as both a typical and a distinctive evangelical. Professor Wyatt-Brown was fortunate in having adequate material on his formative years; the sixth and youngest son in a large family he was most influenced by his mother, an able, devout, strong-willed woman. The Great Awakening and Sarah Tappan's successful agency in Northampton provided the impulse that drove her son from the complacent life.

Apprenticed to a Boston merchant at fifteen he read devotional literature and early displayed the acumen and steady habits that marked most of his business career. Speculation that his first connection with philanthropic groups was status-motivated, while plausible, seems inappropriate and unsubstantiated by the evidence available. Inspired by William Ellery Channing, Lewis and brothers, John and Charles, drifted into Unitarianism. In 1825 the American Unitarian Association was created with Lewis an enthusiastic participant and first treasurer. Nonetheless, Lyman Beecher's severely modified orthodoxy and the spirit of the Congregational counterattack excited Tappan. In this reviewer's opinion the great event of his adult life occurred in 1827 (at the age of thirty-nine) when he returned to the Congregational faith. His decision was clouded by heavy losses in speculative textile ventures, and anguished friends were painfully aware of his being forced to relocate in New York with his brother, Arthur. Once settled and oriented the phenomenal benevolent and religious activity that marked his remaining years proved the sincerity of his convictions and to many, doubtless, indicated divine approbation.

Any reappraisal of Lewis Tappan must perforce include lengthy passages on the work of Arthur. Professor Wyatt-Brown ably details the older Tappan's career and assesses his conservative course with the American Anti Slavery Society. The two biographies are woven together in a very successful manner. The main lines of the account for the crucial years 1830-1844 are well known. Although Lewis did not join the Liberty party until late 1843 his reluctant vote for Birney in 1840 and his work for a Whig-Liberty party coalition in 1841 will surprise many. During the same years he left the silk import firm and ventured forth with the innovative idea of a national credit rating service. Its success gave him financial security for the last years of his life. Status anxiety concepts have no relevance for his career.

In the stormy '50's Lewis deprecated the drift toward violence and urged more agents for Kansas rather than rifles. On another occasion he wrote perceptively to an English friend, "the abolition of your Corn Laws made no change in the social relations of your

people, & therefore was not dreaded as large portions of . . . [our] people . . . dread emancipation" (p. 263). Stern, self-assured but thoughtful, he was an early advocate of emancipation in the Civil War; he supported the Lincoln administration better than most abolitionists. In his twilight years he was dismayed by Johnson's Reconstruction policies and condemned the vulgarity of the post-war scene.

This volume is well-researched and is generally well-balanced. The petitions campaign, the early work of Finney and the work of Weld, were more significant than the book indicates, however. Conversely the prolixity associated with the analysis of certain phases of Garrisonian endeavor is unnecessary. Attractively printed, this book obviates another full study of either man for a generation.

*Ohio Wesleyan University*

RICHARD W. SMITH

*Steamboats Out of Baltimore.* By ROBERT H. BURGESS and H. GRAHAM WOOD. (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1968. Pp. x, 236. \$10.00.)

Robert H. Burgess and H. Graham Wood have been intrigued by Chesapeake Bay steamboats since their boyhoods, and for years they have had a passionate and scholarly interest in them. This has resulted in a comprehensive, detailed and amazing history of Bay steamboating from the early 1800's to the end of the era in the 1950's and '60s.

The book is divided into twenty-one chapters which consist of histories of the lines and companies that operated in the Bay and its tributaries. The chapters deal with: early steamboat lines to the Western Shores of Maryland and Virginia; early steamer routes to the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia; Weems Steamboat Company; Baltimore and Philadelphia Steamboat Company; Maryland Steamboat Company; Eastern Shore Steamboat Company; Choptank Steamboat Company; Wheeler Transportation Line; Chester River Steamboat Company; Queen Anne's Ferry and Equipment Company; Pennsylvania Railroad Steamboat Lines; Western Shore Steamboat Company; Baltimore, Crisfield and Onancock Line; Chesapeake Steamship Company; Baltimore Steam Packet Company; Stony Creek Steamboat Company; Rock Creek Steamboat Company; Tolchester Steamboat Company, Wilson Line, Inc.; miscellaneous companies and miscellaneous excursion routes.

The authors tell how the companies were formed and why, the principals involved, pertinent details on the boats, schedules, landings, cargo, and highlights of the lines, which often became involved in mergers, foreclosures and bankruptcies. The book abounds in fascinating detail. Examples: Most Eastern Shore steamers were side-wheelers because of the shallow water in many of the rivers, creeks and coves. In the late 1800's monthly wages on steamers were: captains, \$100, pursers, \$50, waiters, \$12. A passenger could leave Baltimore on Sunday noon on the Rappahannock route stop at 60 wharves on the roundtrip and not return to Baltimore until Thursday morning. Thirty-five years ago two Baltimoreans could spend two nights and a day on the steamer traveling the Rappahannock and Piankatank rivers, have a stateroom and four satisfying meals, all for \$6.50 each. Steamboats were normally named for people or places, but the landing at Gratitude, near Rock Hall, apparently received its name from the steamer which called at that wharf.

The attractively printed book has 282 illustrations of steamboats, crews and landings. A number of these are rare photographs and many are from the authors' private collections. As in the case of other historians and collectors, the authors were not able to find a picture of the footbridge which crossed Light Street in the early 1900's.

Mr. Burgess, the author of two other books on the Bay, is a member of the staff of the Mariners Museum. H. Graham Wood is a senior vice president and trust officer of the First National Bank of Maryland. Their book is a must for anyone interested in the Chesapeake Bay.

*Baltimore Sun*

HAROLD A. WILLIAMS

*The Cultural History of Marlborough, Virginia.* By C. MALCOLM WATKINS. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968. Pp. viii, 224.)

This handsome publication of the Smithsonian Institution provides the student of colonial history with far more than either its size or provincial title would suggest. The history of Marlborough represents in microcosm the salient economic, cultural and social developments of countless other towns and plantations of the Chesapeake world. Although the author does not always relate his specific story to the wider historical scene, the parallels and in-

sights into late seventeenth and eighteenth century life are valid beyond the bounds of this particular locality.

Marlborough, on the Potomac River in Stafford County, was created by an act of the Virginia assembly in 1691 as part of the recurrent efforts to establish port towns among the colony's widely scattered populace. This attempt was no more successful than the similar efforts of Maryland's government in 1684 and subsequent years. In most instances, the designated towns existed in name only. Marlborough never progressed far beyond the planning stage, and by the early 1720's it was a small abandoned village. A new lease on life came in its development as a prosperous eighteenth century plantation by John Mercer.

Watkins devotes the first half of the book to a history of the town and then the plantation which succeeded it. Here he also relates the fascinating growth and decline of Mercer's fortunes, a fate which befell many Chesapeake planters in that period. Mercer had come to Virginia in 1720 at age sixteen and largely through his own efforts in law and mercantile ventures raised himself to an enviable status in the colony. One is reminded of the similar ascendance of Daniel Dulaney, whom readers will be surprised to find identified here as a "well-known Virginian" (p. 31). The ill plight of the tobacco planter drove Mercer into debt; he sought to salvage his position through diversification with a brewery, a glass-house, and the sale of land. His valiant efforts failed, however, and the plantation declined even more ruinously following his death in 1768. The "golden age" of Marlborough was ended.

Watkins turns in the *second part of his book* to an account of the Smithsonian's growing interest in this long abandoned site where no buildings remained standing to testify to its "golden age." He details the progress of the archeological project, with special attention to the discoveries, testing of hypotheses, and interpretations of findings which followed the work of excavation begun in 1956. Many of Mercer's personal papers which were of great assistance in guiding the research are reproduced in this section. They include plantation inventories, descriptions of buildings, and a ledger of expenses. In the latter, one can even compare the itemized costs of a college education in 1750 with the expenses of 1969.

Such archeological enterprises as described here and in recent works by Noël Hume and others are making a valuable contribution to our understanding of colonial life. Maryland might well profit from the example of her Chesapeake neighbors and foster such investigations into significant sites of her own colonial past.

*Tales of the Chesapeake.* By GEORGE ALFRED TOWNSEND. (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1968. Pp. 285. \$5.00.)

*Tales of the Chesapeake* was first published in 1880. By then the author, George Alfred Townsend, had won recognition for his reporting of Civil War battles and accounts of the Booth conspiracy. Unfortunately, *Tales of the Chesapeake* contains nothing of Townsend's Civil War experiences, and it is solely a collection of short stories and poetry with Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania settings. While one can not fault the author for producing fiction and poetry to the standards of the day, one must wonder why Tidewater Publishers decided to reprint this particular work. On the dust jacket it is claimed that the book has been issued in light of the Civil War centennial, now past. There is nothing, however, of the Civil War in *Tales of the Chesapeake*; in fact, most of the stories are set in the early nineteenth century. While descriptions of Washington and notes of local color are undoubtedly drawn from Townsend's experiences, they are by no means unique. The reprint itself is of only fair quality—this reviewer was sent a copy with over thirty pages missing—and many of the lines are fuzzy. Sentiment and Civil War centennial aside, *Tales of the Chesapeake* has no value other than as a collection of interesting local fiction and mediocre poetry.

Catonsville Community College

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

*The Radical Republicans: Lincoln's Vanguard for Racial Justice.* By HANS L. TREFOUSSE. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. Pp. xiv, 492. Illustrations, notes, bibliography and index. \$10.)

This work is substantial in several ways. It is based on wide-ranging research. Besides tapping some seventy-eight manuscript collections and the relevant newspapers, its author has intelligently used a prodigious number of books, articles, theses and dissertations. Impressive also is the attempt to cover the whole period traditionally associated with the Civil War and Reconstruction. Spanning the years from 1850 to 1877, the book deals in some depth with many of the national politicians, especially members of Congress, who comprised the Radical Republicans, their associates and in a few cases their opponents. While the characterizations are especially notable in the cases of Professor Trefousse's previous biographies, Benjamin F. Butler and Wade, the treatment of other politicians, including Maryland's own Henry Winter Davis, is also

very good. The book does not, however, deal much with Radical politicians on the state level and, except during Reconstruction, it affords little insight into the thought of the Radicals' electorate. Just as this readable study is a credit to the author, so its physical makeup, with properly located footnotes and handsome portraits, maintains the standard associated with its publisher.

The *Radical Republicans* depicts its subjects as differing among themselves on most issues, including economic legislation, and as being united only by a common desire to free and uplift the slave. Unlike the abolitionists, the Radicals were willing to work within the existing political system and to make necessary practical accommodations. The author, reacting to earlier views of the Radicals as self-interested fanatics, often stresses their reasonableness and their relative freedom from selfish motives. At times his book is so defensive that it deals inadequately with some aspects of Radicalism made controversial by earlier historians. Examples are the Radicals' alleged injustices (as in the wartime congressional investigations), their distortions of truth (as in their war propaganda) and the question of the constitutionality of their actions (as in some Reconstruction measures). Never a majority, the Radicals in the author's opinion rendered valuable service as goads and as leaders of the mass of Northerners. Thus the reference to Lincoln in the subtitle becomes more than a mere convention of "Civil War books." Arguing, not always convincingly, that the differences between Lincoln and the Radicals have been exaggerated, the book shows the Radicals as operating most effectively when they furnished the Civil War president with the pressure needed to offset the conservative opposition to racial progress. During Reconstruction, the necessity of appealing to moderate Republicans for aid in overcoming the opposition of President Andrew Johnson forced the Radicals to retreat from their more advanced demands and helped to explain their inability to impose a truly radical solution to racial problems. Indeed, this history argues that the failure of the attempt to remove Johnson from office was such a setback to Radical prestige as almost to doom their Southern program at its start. Nevertheless, Trefousse's work joins the revisionists in acclaiming Radicalism as the "propelling force" which did much to destroy slavery, pass the Reconstruction Amendments and prepare the way for the twentieth century movement for racial equality.

The central weakness of this massive work is its imprecision in defining its subject. Radicalism, it says, is most easily identified by determining the leaders who formed its core. Citing a sparse sampling of indicators of opinion, it names congressmen who were considered radical regarding slavery prior to the organization of the



Republican party—admitting, however, that some such as William Seward later proved to be moderates or conservatives. The subsequent account of the rise of the Republican party so stresses the role of the antislavery Radicals that Radicalism and Republicanism almost blend. Yet, as the book recognizes, the Radicals constituted only a minority among Republicans. What was their numerical strength? Approximately what percentage of Republican congressmen at any given time could be considered Radicals? There are neither direct answers nor even the raw materials upon which a reader might base a guess. Compounding the difficulty is the introduction of such additional terms as “ultras” and “extremists” which may or may not be intended to apply to all “Radicals.” With such vagueness concerning the identity and numbers of the Radicals, it requires an act of faith to accept the sweeping generalizations as to the views of “some radicals” or “most ultras.” These criticisms are not a call for another, more statistical, kind of history but simply a wish for a more exact analysis.

Whatever the limitations of the book's treatment of its specific subject, *The Radical Republicans* is strong in its handling of the Republican movement as a whole. It is a very useful history of the period's politics written from the viewpoint of the antislavery core of the Republican coalition.

Kent State University

FRANK L. BYRNE

*Twelve Years A Slave.* By SOLOMON NORTHUP. Edited by Sue Eakin and Joseph Logsdon. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. Pp. xxxviii, 273. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$7.50.)

Mid-nineteenth century America had an insatiable appetite for the dramatic. Slave narratives, usually written by abolitionists and therefore suspect so far as absolute fairness was concerned, were nevertheless assured a quick sale as they poured from the presses. Usually these narratives depicted the trials and tribulations of persons born to slavery in the border states and their escape from bondage. Solomon Northup's account differs in that it is the story of a free man carried into slavery in the deep South and the amanuensis selected to write the story for publication was not an abolitionist. This was David Wilson, already a dabbler in poetry and history, and subsequently to publish two other works on dramatic incidents, but unrelated to slavery. It seems then that Wilson was interested in appealing to the drama-oriented reading public,

but probably made no effort to use Northup for propagandistic purposes. The facts are dramatic enough.

Northup lived in New York as a free man for over thirty years and was well known in his community. He was married and had a family. He accepted a temporary job which was supposed to be in New York city but failed to notify his family who were with relatives at the time. He was enticed on to Washington, D.C. where he was drugged and sold into slavery, not in the border states, but in the cotton fields of the Red River. It was twelve years before he could get his release.

Northup was blessed by an unusually retentive memory, keen observation powers, and magnificent adaptability. He remembered names and events during his years of slavery which to the average person would have been an impossibility. He drew word pictures of his associates—black and white, slave and free—which could well be the envy of persons long trained in reporting techniques. And while he observed and remembered, he managed always to come out on top. He had hardly reached the slave pen at New Orleans before he had displaced the boy who was attempting to play the violin. He had been at his new home but a few weeks when he put his previous experience to good use in floating logs through bayous theretofore considered impassable; he built a loom for plantation use; he became a driver, administering the lash when necessary; he played the violin for frolics both at the home plantation and abroad.

His first master was kind and Christian and appreciated his services. When sale became necessary he fell into the hands of a semi-demented carpenter who attacked him twice, and twice was bested in physical combat—yet Northup lived to tell the tale. His third master was a heavy drinker who made life miserable for all, especially for poor Patsey caught between the lust of her master and the jealous hatred of her mistress.

The reprinting of Northup's story under the careful editing of Sue Eakin and Joseph Logsdon serves to authenticate many of the Louisiana names—people, towns, parishes, railroads, bayous—which appear in Northup's account. In this project the editors are on home territory since both teach history in Louisiana colleges and one, at least, is native to the area where Northup spent his years in slavery.

Not content with verification and clarification of Northup's Louisiana enslavement, the editors have presented also as much as could be found about the sequel to the slave years. This centers chiefly in the abortive court efforts to bring Northup's abductors to justice, a battle that dragged on for about two years and got

tangled in politics, eventually dropping out of sight as the troubles in Kansas took on more dangerous proportions. Northup received no compensation for his years in bondage, but he did get \$3,000.00 for the rights to his story. He disappeared from history some time before 1869, and probably died before 1863.

Critics of diverse opinions about the South and its peculiar institution have long accepted Northup's account as more credible than most such narratives, and those familiar with plantation life are impressed with its accuracy in the description of cotton and cane culture and with its depiction of the daily life of the slave. There is less unanimity in credibility accorded to his description of the extent of abuse suffered by the slaves.

Perhaps it was never the intention of the editors to provide any critical analysis of this narrative as a whole but there are questions which cry out for some kind of explanation. Why was the case of Eliza and child passed over without editorial attention? Did Northup's recital of the plot to kill the captain and seize the boat transporting them to slavery fit in with his prior and subsequent adaptability to conditions surrounding him? Does it seem unusual that one small transport would be carrying three free Negroes forcibly detained and being carried into slavery in an age when manstealing did exist, but is recognized by the editors as being rare? Does it not seem strange that a man of such ingenuity as Northup demonstrated repeatedly could have found no possible way to communicate his condition to friends in New York until he had spent more than eleven years in bondage? Is it likely that a slave, even a valuable slave, could have given the whipping which Northup is supposed to have administered to his master in a land where life was cheap and the life of a slave even cheaper? Was Northup such a good actor that he could have hidden his free born status which he had exercised since birth, his education which covered at least the ability to read and write, his accent which must have differed substantially from that of Georgia, the place assigned by the Washington slave trader as his place of origin?

The reprinting of this account of Northup's adventure and his bondage is welcome. The editing and introduction equally so. We look forward to additional volumes of importance to the history of the South as the Library of Southern Civilization grows.

*A Time to Rend: An Essay on the Decision for American Independence.* By JOHN M. HEAD. (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1968. Pp. xvi, 208. \$5.95.)

An intense struggle took place in the Continental Congress from May 1775-July 1776 over whether to protect American liberties within the British Empire or create an independent republic. Convinced that this "forgotten episode" cannot be explained by the three major interpretations of the American Revolution (defined as the "imperial," "determinist," and "neo-Whig" schools), John Head presents an analysis of this fateful era. In seeking to understand the nature and basis of this conflict, Head studied the backgrounds and values of each Congressional delegate from 1774-1776 and found a "definite relationship" between the "social contexts" of each colony and the position that majorities of its Congressional delegation took on the issue of empire or independence. The most significant aspects of his book are its analyses of these social contexts and the values of representative individuals from them.

Head delineates two general socio-political situations in the colonies. New England and Virginia suffered economic decline after 1764 while enjoying high levels of social and cultural homogeneity. This situation created an atmosphere in which independence seemed a "reasonable, safe course of action," particularly after the Intolerable Acts and the outbreak of war. Thus, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson sought independence relatively early in the Congressional debates and receive extensive analysis by the author as representative individuals from this social context. On the other hand, in colonies distinguished by cultural heterogeneity, economic prosperity, an absence of unifying institutions, and internal social tensions (the middle colonies, Maryland, and South Carolina) an atmosphere existed which supported continuance of the imperial framework and produced such men as John Dickinson and John Rutledge who supported the maintenance of liberty within the empire. Head carefully cautions, however, that this thesis "does not fully clarify the nature of the conflict" and, ultimately, "each delegate formulated his position in terms of his own personal history." Other conclusions reveal that the empire vs. independence issue was in doubt until 1 July 1776, when a new delegation from New Jersey turned the tide; and Jefferson's *Declaration of Independence* was a pragmatically conservative document calculated to convince undecided Congressmen of the need for independence.

The book has some inconsistencies, errors of fact, and lapses in evidence. For example, New Hampshire is described as a charter

colony. The thesis that New England suffered a significant economic decline in the decade before 1774 is neither convincing nor adequately supported. Head does not refer to economic problems at all in his discussion of Adams and Jefferson. The book has no discussion of the impact on the outlook of Congressmen of such outside events as the Prohibitory Act of February 1776 or the British decision to use Hessian troops in May 1776. More importantly, Head accepts the neo-Whig interpretation for the period from 1764-1774, portraying a "consensus" among Americans to conserve the rights of Englishmen from British tyranny, but rejects it when Americans divide over the problem of choosing the best means to obtain this goal. Is such a rejection necessary when almost all members of Congress accepted the goal? Does disagreement over means render the neo-Whig interpretation inadequate as an overall explanation of the coming of the Revolution? I think not, particularly after consideration of Head's cautions above; nonetheless, his theses are new, stimulating, and worthy of extensive consideration.

The fundamental contributions of this well-written essay lie in its perceptive analysis of the nature of the Congressional dispute over means and the motivations behind these conflicts. Head's study performs a signal service by revealing the variety and complexity of the views held by those Congressmen who valiantly sought to perpetuate the rights of Englishmen in America.

California State College, Fullerton

DAVID E. VAN DEVENTER

*The Log Cabin In America: From Pioneer Days to the Present.*

By C. A. WESLAGER. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969. Pp. xxv, 3-382. Acknowledgments, preface, illustrations, appendix, and index. \$12.50.)

This volume is the culmination of many years of patient and intelligent research by an historical writer who has specialized in the archaeology and history of the Delaware Valley. He has consulted both national and local historical journals, manuscript collections, scholarly dissertations, as well as pertinent general works. He, moreover, has been tireless in seeking extant log buildings in various parts of the country to verify his conclusions, and numerous photographs and drawings add to the usefulness of the volume. Throughout the work he emphasizes the validity of the thesis of Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth: A Study of the Early*

*Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America*, ed. by Samuel E. Morison (Cambridge, 1939). The log cabin was long widely believed to be a significant expression of indigenous American architecture, but the facts point to its European origin and its initial introduction into the New World by Swedes and Finns who settled the lower Delaware Valley in the seventeenth century. These people were accustomed to log structures in their homelands, and, in refutation of the implications of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, carried traditional patterns to the New World. Contrary to much folklore the English colonists at Jamestown, Plymouth, and St. Marys, and the Dutch settlers in New Netherlands knew nothing of log buildings and erected the kind of buildings which they had known in their homelands.

The concept of the log cabin spread under the practical needs of the pioneers moving westward from its primary source area in northern Delaware and Pennsylvania. Many Pennsylvania German and Swiss settlers were accustomed to log cabin construction in the Black Forest, the Swiss Alps, and the wooded sections of Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, and Saxony. Pennsylvania Germans and Scotch-Irish carried the architectural patterns into western Pennsylvania and beyond the Ohio River and southward through Maryland and Virginia and into the Carolinas. Obviously it was much easier, when tools were scarce, to build homes and other buildings of logs rather than of lumber, the use of which required much greater effort and skill.

The author points out how log cabins were introduced into Alaska and the West Coast by the Russians, a number of log structures having been left standing after the purchase of Alaska in 1867.

Careful attention is given to the distinction between the "log cabin" and the more pretentious "log house." Developed at length, moreover, is the way in which the log cabin in the nineteenth century became the symbol of family solidarity, grass roots associations, and the pioneer virtues, notable in the Log Cabin campaign for the Presidency in 1840.

Marylanders will be especially interested in the chapter, "The Maryland Planters." Since the early Maryland settlers were unaccustomed to log structures, they at first lived in crude Indian huts until they could build wooden houses such as they had known in England. The few log structures later found in Maryland, Weslager believes, were the result of the influence of non-English settlers such as Finns and Swedes.

Only a few minor errors seem to have escaped correction.

Schoharie is misspelled (pp. 207, 214), and the correct spelling of the original name for Cincinnati was Losantiville (p. 240). Schoenbrunn, moreover, was not in "the heart and soul of the Ohio Company's Purchase" (p. 239). But, all in all, this work is essentially a definitive study of the log cabin in United States history.

*The Ohio State University*

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER

*The Virginia Germans.* By KLAUS WUST (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969. Pp. 310. Notes, bibliographical notes, and index. \$8.50.)

Millions of Germans came to America between the arrival of "8. Dutchmen and Poles" at Jamestown in 1608 and the close of the nineteenth century. Only a very small percentage settled in Virginia. Yet Klaus Wust's account of this comparatively small German concentration provides not only some interesting new perspectives on the history of Virginia but also is a sound contribution to the growing number of localized ethnic studies. The reader is spared an encyclopedic listing of family names and exaggerated claims as to the significance of German achievements. Instead the author weaves together a well-researched, documented, meaningful, and interpretative study of interest to both the general reader and the specialist. As a result the Germans, whether colonial or nineteenth century, whether new arrivals or several generations removed, whether farmer or craftsman, are portrayed in a generally realistic fashion.

A brief introductory chapter is devoted to "The First Germans in Virginia." The major portion of this study is devoted to the eighteenth century Germans. This "Colonial Stock" located primarily in the Shenandoah Valley. Discussion includes such traditionally valuable areas as major individuals; distribution patterns; and German churches, folkways, and crafts. This is done in a broad perspective and awareness of the many other questions of interest to students of ethnic history. Attention is given to growing class consciousness, the effect of the "New Light" preachers, adaptation to their new environment, mobility, politics, Americanization, and slavery. By the early nineteenth century most direct traces of the "Colonial Stock" Germans had vanished.

The last forty-seven pages are devoted to a brief but interesting discussion of the "New Germans"—those immigrating after 1830. The account is carried into the twentieth century with a discussion of World War I and the demise of German-Americanism. Many

other aspects of German settlement are covered in varying degrees of depth from nativism to prohibition and education to religious institutions.

*St. Cloud State College*

JOHN C. MASSMANN

*Reconstruction, An Anthology of Revisionist Writings.* Edited by KENNETH M. STAMPP and LEON F. LITWACK. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1969, Pp. xii, 531. \$12.00.)

The purpose of this anthology, which is available for \$12.00 in hard cover and \$4.25 in paperback, "is not so much an attempt to plead the case for revisionism as it is to record what historians today generally accept as an accurate portrait of the Reconstruction years." There are twenty-three essays by nineteen contributors and all of the entries have been previously published. Only three of the selections predate World War II. The collection represents the orthodox interpretation of Reconstruction for the contemporary era. All of the current prominent "revisionists" are represented except John Hope Franklin—one of the best of the lot.

The selections all reflect the temper of their time as much as the writings of the followers of William A. Dunning and Charles A. Beard reflected the ideology and values of their day. Some of the commentators of the present generation, perhaps, are imbued with a stronger sense of mission and self-righteousness than the earlier "revisionists." They all tend to minimize political and economic factors and to emphasize the humanitarian and ideological motives of the men involved in reconstruction.

The editors do not indicate the type of audience which they hope to reach with this volume. At first glance one might think that it was aimed to supplement the readings of undergraduates for courses in American and Southern history. But the absence of an index, bibliography and author's vita limit its usefulness for undergraduates. The graduate student and scholar will find nothing new in this collection. Its value will probably be greater for historians seventy-five years from now than it is for the historian today. It will constitute an adequate summary of what scholars thought about post-Appomattox America in the days of the "Great Society" and when man first walked on the moon.

*University of Richmond*

W. HARRISON DANIEL



*A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, with English and French Glossaries.* By J. WOODWARD and G. BURNETT. New introduction by L. G. Pine. (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1969, Pp. xxxviii, 858, illustrations. \$17.50.)

This reprint of the 2-volume edition of 1892 is a worthy contribution to the study of heraldry. It is the only scholarly book in English on heraldry. Unlike so many other works, it gives original evidences derived from representations of arms which exist in rolls of arms, in windows and other art forms. There are errors (it is certain that no heraldic work is free of error), and the coloring of some of the emblazoned arms is slightly off, but these are slight blemishes. There are forty-eight color plates, containing about 500 emblazoned arms, and over 100 line illustrations. The reprint is handsomely produced and will resist heavy use. Easily the most extraordinary thing about it is the low price of \$17.50.

*Maryland Historical Society*

P. W. FILBY

## BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

(Since January, 1969)

- The Age of Peel.* By NORMAN GASH. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969. viii, 182. \$2.00.
- Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia.* By J. S. BROMLEY and E. H. KOSSMAN, eds. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969. 264. \$9.50.
- The Centennial Years.* By FRED A. SHANNON. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969. xx, 362. \$1.75.
- Charles Wilson Peale With Patron and Populace.* By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1969. 146. \$6.00.
- Democracy in the Old South and Other Essays.* By FLETCHER MELVIN GREEN and J. ISAAC COPELAND, eds. North Carolina: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969. x, 322. \$8.50.
- English Colonization of North America.* By LOUIS B. WRIGHT and ELAINE W. FOWLER. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969. vii, 181. \$2.00.
- Great Slave Narratives Selected and Introduced by Arna Bontemps.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1969. 329. \$7.50.
- Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871.* By STANLEY F. HORN. Connecticut: John E. Edwards, 1969. 433. \$9.95.
- The Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon.* By A. HUGHLETT MASON. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1969. 231. \$5.00.
- Letters from America.* By WILLIAM EDDIS, and AUBREY C. LAND, eds. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969. xxxiv, 237. \$6.95.
- Marie Antoinette: The Tragic Queen.* By DOROTHY MOULTON MAYER. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1969. 395. \$6.95.
- Napoleon's Dossier on Aaron Burr.* By SAMUEL ENGLE BURR. Texas: The Naylor Company, 1969. vii, 65. \$2.95.
- The Progressive Historian: Turner, Beard, Parrington.* By RICHARD HOFSTADTER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. vii, 496. \$8.95.
- Reconstruction in Retrospect.* By RICHARD N. CURRENT, ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. xxii, 165. \$6.50.

- Republican Heyday.* By C. A. STEARN. Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1969. ix, 97. \$1.25.
- The Textile Industry in Antebellum South Carolina.* By ERNEST MCPHERSON LANDER, JR. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. v, 122. \$5.00.
- The Treaty of Portsmouth: An Adventure in American Diplomacy.* By EUGENE P. TRANI. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1969. 194. \$6.95.
- Valley Forge Crucible of Victory.* By JOHN F. REED. New Jersey: Philip Freneau Press, 1969. 76. \$8.95.
- The War in the South.* By DONALD BARR CHIDSEY. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1969. 176. \$3.95.
- William Tatham and the Culture of Tobacco.* By MELVIN HERNON. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1969. xv, 506. \$10.00.
- The South: A Central Theme?* MONROE L. BILLINGTON, ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969. 122. \$2.25.
- Southeastern Indians: Life Portraits.* EMMA LILA FUNDABURK, ed. New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1969. 136. \$7.50.
- Baltimore Today.* Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1969. 96, \$1.95, \$3.50.
- Correspondence of James K. Polk, Volume I, 1817-1832.* HERBERT WEAVER, ed. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969. xxxvii, 619. \$15.00.
- Jacob Eicholtz, 1776-1842: Portrait Painter of Pennsylvania.* REBECCA J. BEAL. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1969. xxxiii, 401. \$15.00.
- These Low Grounds.* By WATERS EDWARD TURPIN. Maryland: McGrath Publishing Company, 1969, 344.
- Ulysses S. Grant: Warrior and Statesman.* By ULYSSES S. GRANT. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1969, 480, \$12.50.
- A Virginia Heritage.* By ELEANOR BROWN MERRILL. Published by the author. 1969, 186.

# NOTES AND QUERIES

## THE 33rd MARYLAND HOUSE AND GARDEN PILGRIMAGE

Sponsored in part by the Maryland Historical Society, the tours include counties of the tidewater areas and suburban Baltimore. Large estates, 17th century manors and town houses, colonial cottages, and both traditional and modern houses offer diversity, and fine antiques in settings of charm and historical interest add to the pleasure of the Pilgrim. Chesapeake Bay Cruises include walking tours in towns reminiscent of colonial seaports. Funds raised from this Pilgrimage are used to help restore and preserve historical houses, churches, and gardens throughout Maryland. Prepared articles, photographs, and maps are available upon request, and writers and photographers may visit prior to tours. For information, contact Pilgrimage Headquarters, Room 223, Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore, Md. 21202, 837-0228.

### SCHEDULE—1970—

May 1 —Queen Anne's County

May 2 —Talbot County

May 3 —Wicomico County

May 5 —Bolton Hill Walking Tour, Baltimore City

May 6 —Poplar Hill, Baltimore Suburban

May 7 —Western Run-Worthington Valley, Baltimore County

May 8 —Chevy Chase, Montgomery County

May 9 —Anne Arundel County

May 10—Charles County

May 23 and 24—Chesapeake Bay Cruises to Oxford, Eastern  
Shore of Maryland

**ADMISSION:** Ticket for each day's tour, \$6.00. Single house ticket, \$2.00. Cruise tickets, including lunch, \$15.00.

**ACCOMMODATIONS:** Attractive inns, comfortable hotels and motels and city rural restaurants are accessible. Luncheons are served in a local church on most tours.

**COVER:** Rebuilding Baltimore, 1904. View of the Union Trust building (center), looking northeast from German Street, now Redwood Street. Photograph by Eduard Löllmann.

*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

## THE JOHN CARROLL PAPERS

Thomas O'Brien Hanley, S.J., a member of the history department of Marquette University and currently a visiting associate professor of history at Loyola University, Chicago, has been appointed editor of the John Carroll Papers. The project to collect, edit, and publish the papers of the first American bishop was begun under the auspices of the American Catholic Historical Association and was included in a report by the National Historical Publications Commission. Following earlier collaboration which produced an edition of material to 1880, Father Hanley will edit the subsequent period and see both volumes through to publication.

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